NILES' WEEKLY REGISTER.

FOURTH SERIES.] No. 7—VOL. VIII. BALTIMORE, APRIL 13, 1833. [VOL. XLIV. WHOLE No. 1,125.

THE PAST—THE PRESENT—FOR THE FUTURE.

EDITED, PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY H. NILES, AT $5 PER ANNUM, PAYABLE IN ADVANCE.

☞The time seemed so properly fitted to give a sketch of the speech of Mr. *McDuffie*, in the South Carolina convention, that we have inserted it. There are points made in this speech which are of deep interest to the voluntary, or free laboring classes;—and our reading of this speech clearly shews the opinion of Mr. McDuffie, that these have been reduced to a close, or much closer, approximation to the condition of the involuntary, or slave laboring classes, than heretofore. If those interested in the latter deserve success for the steadiness and fidelity with which they have pursued their purposes, what shall be said of the former, who, divided and huzzaing, have been "nailed down to the counter like base money?" They were told what would happen; and, as we apprehend, must reap the harvest which they sowed to the whirlwind! When they feel—they will believe; but belief may come too late, if the enemy acts wisely. We would, however, that this *feeling* had come upon them, at once—while *strength* remained to "correct the procedure," and that every one might surely know the real cause of reduced wages for labor, and increased prices of goods. But they are doomed to understand this seeming paradox. They will know the meaning of the word COMPETITION, and find out that cost to a consumer is exactly proportioned with his ability to obtain—that high prices and low prices are only comparative terms—that the *money-value* of an article has no necessary connection with its *real value;* that diamonds may be advantageously exchanged for an equal number of potatoes, and a quart of gold coin be "judiciously" sold for a quart of wholesome water.

☞We publish an interesting note from Mr. *Carey* to the editor of the United States Telegraph—but have no intention of renewing a discussion of the subject to which it relates—at present.

☞We hope that the *privilege* of making exchanges of papers with whom we please (when editors are pleased to exchange with us), may be permitted! Our list is a great deal too heavy—for, as has been more than once observed, the reception of a newspaper imposes a sort of obligation to examine it—and much time is thus expended without profit; and yet we have been roughly scolded by some, because that we have reduced our exchanges. A further reduction must be made—and we wish all persons interested to believe, that, when the REGISTER ceases to reach them (allowance being made for the irregularity of the mails), an exchange is declined.

GOOD! The saying, that "Satan can quote scripture," is strictly applicable to the following. Our kind neighbors in Canada have not only grossly abused us because of our protecting system, but rendered their best services to "nullify" it by smuggling, and other fraudulent operations: but when the principle of that system comes home to themselves, they perfectly understand it! So will *South Carolina*—when American cotton shall be taxed 3*d*. per lb. in England, and East India cotton be admitted free of duty; the supply of the latter being adequate to the whole demand, and its quality rendered equal, at least, to our Uplands—both which will probably be the case, very soon after the expiration of the East India company's charter.

The Quebec papers complain of an alleged project of the British government to alter the duties, in the United Kingdom, which give preference to the *timber* of the colonies. The Mercury observes—

"The lumber trade has been created and grown under the protection. Its destruction would be ruinous to the individuals engaged in the trade, and injurious to the country generally, to the agricultural population of which, the persons employed in the trade, at present, form the principal consumers in the colony who are able to pay for what they consume."

It was "abominable"—in the United States, to levy high duties on British cottons and cloths, that *American* farmers might have a domestic market for their bread-stuffs and meats—seeing that Britain, (for one out of an hundred examples, and the first on the list), imposes a duty of 8*s*. 4*d*. the piece on "anchor stocks," if imported from the United States, but of only 10*d*. if imported from Canada*—but it is perfectly right, and sound political economy, in Britain, to keep up the *ten times greater duty*, and so forbid the use of anchor stocks from the United States, that *Canadian* farmers may have a market for their products!

And the pricked bull-calf begins to roar! Aye, the Old Bull, himself, will roar, when he shall honestly "*practice on those maxims which he recommends to others!*"

THE ENGLISH "SYSTEM." A letter dated Liverpool, February 23, says—"The evil with the people in Ireland is the want of food. Statutes and bayonets and gunpowder therefore cannot cure the evil; they are not the remedy. To kill is no cure. The great cause of all the misery in Ireland is, (not parsons and churches and priests, laws, Catholics or Protestants), but the consumption in England of all the staple productions of Ireland, without an equivalent return to that country, to be diffused among its people, in the promotion of arts and manufactures. *All the crops of Ireland are expended among the manufacturers and artizans of England, evidently precluding the people of Ireland from similar employment.* Thus whilst industry is fattened in England by the nutritious produce of Ireland, the people of that country grow lean for the want of it."

"FREE TRADE." A trial at law has just been decided in favor of the corporation of Liverpool, plaintiff, against Bolton, Ogden & Co. representing the American merchants of that city. The action was to try the right of the city to "exact certain duties and tolls upon all goods coming from abroad, consigned to persons *not freemen* of the city." This decision will take out of the pockets of the American merchants about 60,000 pounds a year—and this is equivalent to a bounty to that amount in favor of British traders. The house of Bolton, Ogden & Co. are said to pay at least five thousand dollars a year to the corporation for their duties.

☞The American merchants at Liverpool pay an alien tax which amounts to nearly three hundred thousand dollars a year. If the drab-gaitered gentlemen and other English adorers of "free trade" doing business in New York, were taxed at the same rate, that great city would not, perhaps, need any other revenue, much is said about the prodigal expenditures of the corporation! But, though such taxes are very right on Father Bull's side of the Atlantic, they are very wrong on Brother Jonathan's side: so nullification and secession would be treason, if practiced north of the Potomac—but are strictly constitutional, when entertained south of that river.

THE CHOLERA awfully prevailed at Havana, at the date of our latest accounts from that city. From the 24th of Feb. when it first appeared, up to the 24th of March, it was believed that *five thousand persons* had died—1,000 whites and 4,000 blacks. On the day before the sailing of a schooner which has arrived at Baltimore, five hundred persons are said to have died. It was feared that many premature interments had taken place. Several persons, on their way to the grave, were roused by the jolting of the dead carts, in which they had been placed!

One individual had lost 30 out of 200 slaves! All sorts of business were suspended, except in relation to the sick and the dead. The captain general had ordered discharges of artillery to purify the atmosphere. The sale of specifics for the cholera had been prohibited.

This fearful disease has reached Matanzas. If it shall take a course through the West Indies, generally, what will be the state of Jamaica and the other British islands, in the present calamitous and awful condition in which they are otherwise placed?

The accounts of the sick, in the hospitals at Havana, are, indeed, awful. They were wretchedly provided for—and rather packed in rooms than accommodated, and their bodies were

---

*It is thus with respect to every article of wood which the British colonies can supply; and we might fill a whole page with things like the following, from the present British tariff:

Deals, 7 inches wide, not exceeding 45 feet long, and 3¼ inches thick—£44, or 211 dollars, the 120. But the same if imported from a British possession, and not more than 4 inches thick, £5 or 24 dollars the 120. The quantity in the latter is 1-7th more than in the former, yet the duty is only a little more than one-ninth part.

Handspikes, of a certain size, £4 or $19 20 the 120: the same imported from a British possession, 5*s*. or $1 20 the 120!

But it is, perhaps, altogether useless to refer to these things.

Digitized by Google

buried in holes, without coffins or winding sheets. Brandy was drank in large quantities as a preventive of the disease!

The interments in the Campo Santo, the principal burying ground at Havana, on the 22d March, amounted to 333—the whole number was hardly less than 500, that day. The city, however, was nearly deserted, and the mortality would, of course, decline.

LIBERIA. We have good accounts from the colony of free blacks, and means have considerably accumulated to give energy to emigration and secure the comfort of worthy persons, who seek the land of their ancestors that they and their children may have rank in society, according to real merit—without regard to the color of their skins! The beginning of a great nation has, probably, commenced—which, though it may not do much to relieve the United States of a species of population which is feared in some parts of our country, and degraded in all—still an opportunity is presented by which holders of slaves may liberate them, without those difficulties and dangers which attend this proceeding in all the southern states, and also enabled to entertain a hope that their condition will be improved. A want of confidence as to the latter, has prevented the emancipation of tens of thousands of individuals—and we think it is pretty clear, that emancipation, in the slave-holding states, without removal, is not productive of a general benefit to persons of color.

By the 16th annual report of the colonization society, it appears that the receipts of the society for the last year, have been $12,397 10; balance on hand from the last year, $11,090 15. $2,420 19 were received from England, and $5,180 paid by the managers of the Maryland fund. The expenditures have been for the same period, $52,644 22, viz: for transportation of emigrants and supplies for the colony, $36,892 07; salaries of agents, &c. $10,168 53; printing, $3,268 13; tuition of four young men for physicians at Liberia, $981 06. The whole number of emigrants transported to Liberia during the last year, is 790; of which number, 247 were manumitted slaves. A legacy of $10,000, from the estate of the late judge Workman, of Louisiana, and the same sum from the late Mr. Ireland, of New Orleans, and $1,000 by the late col. Rutgers, of New York city, attest the growing interest and favor with which this society is regarded.

The managers of the Maryland state fund in the last year sent out 175 persons—viz. 29 to Hayti and 146 to Liberia; 20 of the latter being manumitted for the purpose. A much larger emigration is expected in the current year—453 persons are known to be manumitted, some at prospective periods, for this purpose.

Virginia has appropriated $18,000 a year, for 5 years, for the removal of persons who are now free, and born and residing in the state. The emigration to be under the ultimate charge of the American colonization society, at certain rates of compensation for expenses incurred, &c.

As instances of what is going on—the following may be mentioned:

The rev. Richard Bibb, of Kentucky, has liberated thirty two of his slaves—furnished them with clothing, besides 444 dollars in money, and sent them to Liberia.

A party of colored emigrants left Louisville, Ky. on the 22d ult. for Liberia. It numbered one hundred and six persons, ninety-six of whom were manumitted in Kentucky, four were from East Tennessee, and the others were free. Among the latter is an emigrant from Brown county, Ohio, who goes out as a representative of three hundred persons in that county, who contemplate emigrating to Liberia, provided his report be favorable. The emigrants left Louisville in high spirits, having been liberally provided with money and provisions by the people of Kentucky. They were to be conveyed to New Orleans free of expense, in the elegant steam boat Mediterranean, accompanied by the secretary of the Kentucky colonization society. At New Orleans the charge of the emigrants will be assumed by Mr. Savage, of Ohio, who will accompany tham to Liberia.

One or more large parties have left Tennessee—well supplied and liberally provided for.

The military force of the colony consists of nearly 800 men—well disciplined and fitted for service, if needed. This force might be increased on an emergency—but would appear sufficient for the defence of the colony.

A late number of the "African Repository," which is published at Washington, contains the proceedings of a meeting held at Chesterfield, Derbyshire (England), which was addressed by Elliott Cresson, esq. of Philadelphia, an agent of the American colonization society, in an able and eloquent manner. In the course of his remarks he stated the particulars of the purchase of Cape Mesurado, which if not wholly new, cannot fail of imparting interest, even at the present time.

"An American vessel, he said, trading on that coast was driven off by weather, with six Kroomen on board, whom they carried to Baltimore, where Elisha Tyson, an elder of the society of Friends, and general Harper, (a Catholic), each took three of them under their protection. The Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, and rev. S. J. Mills, (the agents of the society), took great interest in these expatriated Kroomen, and through their representations, the late American president Monroe, was induced to order a sloop of war to carry the Kroomen to their native land.—A plentiful provision of clothing was given to them, and they embarked for Africa, accompanied by these gentlemen. The captain of the vessel was unacquainted with the coast, but the Kroomen soon recognised it, and it is easy to imagine their joyful feelings, when they found that they were carried back to their homes, instead of that slavery to which so many of their countrymen had been devoted. They saw familiar objects from the vessel's deck—suddenly two of them were observed to be struck with the appearance of an old grey-headed African on the shore—they shouted with joy—he plunged into the waves, swam to the vessel, and threw himself into their arms,—a pantomime of perfect joy succeeded—he was their father! They told how kindly they had been treated; they shewed him the garments which generosity had given them, and they said, in their language of unaffected simplicity, that the "white face" had given them "too much good." The news soon spread; their happy return was noised about; the native chiefs, struck with the contrast between these and other white men, proffered their soil as the future home of manumitted Africans; the purchase was made, (after the peaceful manner of Penn with the American aborigines), and the colony of Liberia, thus literally sprung on the ruins of slavery."

THE SUSQUEHANNAH. The navigation of this noble stream is much injured by various dams, for the supply of the Pennsylvania canals, or to force the river trade out of its natural direction. A late Harrisburg paper had the following paragraph concerning one of these dams:

"We learn that a portion of the Muncy dam has been torn down, not by the ice and flood, but by the hands of the raftmen. Six arks were sunk in passing the dam on Friday and Saturday last, and on Monday a company of raftment demolished a sufficient portion of one end of the dam to admit rafts and arks through with safety. Thus while the legislature are appropriating millions to construct *useless* canals along our navigable streams, the people are *nullifying* their acts by tearing down their work. We want no stronger evidence of the truth of what we have always asserted, that the canals along our navigable streams were not only useless but oppressive."

SMALL BANK NOTES. Georgia has followed the lead of several other states and prohibited the circulation of bills under five dollars. It has, for some years, been thus in Maryland, and we have experienced no sort of inconvenience, except because that five dollars, in specie, are more than a person wishes to carry about him, on account of their weight. Perhaps three dollar bills might be advantageously allowed.

RAIL ROADS, &c. A rail road is to be constructed from Providence to Stonington, Connecticut, in continuation of the road from Boston. Thus will the difficult voyage round Point Judith be avoided, and Boston be rendered only about twelve hours distant from New York; and when the rail road from Baltimore to Washington shall be finished, the journey from Boston to the seat of the national government may be made in about or less than thirty continuous hours, without fatigue: plenty of time being allowed for sleep in the steam boats, though comfortable naps may be taken in the rail-road coaches, if desired. We wish that there was power in the general government to assist in such works!—and especially in those parts of the country where the local population and capital are insufficient to accomplish them. There is a "consolidation" in such improvements which the greatest stickiers for "state rights" should not object to: and besides, in many sections, they are much needed for public purposes. Perhaps, had even the present works existed at the commencement of the late war, a much larger sum of money than the whole cost of them would have been saved, in charges for public transportations and waste of time, as well as of goods—to say nothing about other advantages, yet more important.

The Charleston rail road is finished and available for transportation and travelling for a distance of seventy-two miles. A locomotive engine traversed the line last week, with the mail, several passengers and three or four tons of iron, in six hours, or at the average rate of twelve miles an hour.

With a continuous line of steam boats and rail road carriages, the journey between New York and Baltimore might now be accomplished in seventeen hours. When locomotives shall be placed upon the New Jersey rail road, only about fifteen hours will be required. In two or three years, it is probable that the distance between New York and Washington will be performed, by ordinary travelling, in seventeen hours.

Two new steam engines from England, the *Liverpool* and *Pioneer*, have been placed on the Petersburg rail road. The Intelligencer says—

As an evidence of the power and speed of these engines, it is only necessary to state the fact, that on Monday morning last, a party of gentlemen left town at half past nine o'clock, in the coaches drawn by the "PIONEER," for the purpose of attending Greenville court, and remained at the court house about two hours and a half, and returned to town by six o'clock in the evening—the whole distance being 82 miles. When the necessary delays at the several depots are taken into consideration this trip will, we think, justify the assertion that they cannot "order these things better in France."

The (Baltimore) American of Tuesday last has a daily account of the receipts on the Baltimore and Ohio rail road, for the transportation of passengers and goods, from the 26th March to 5th April inclusive. The largest receipt was on the 3d April, $884 60—the least on the 27th March, $676 47—aggregate of the

Digitized by Google

ten days $7,547 91—daily average $754 79. And it is suggested, and, we think reasonably, that when the road shall reach even Harper's Ferry, its business will be doubled. Horse power is, at present, employed—but it is expected that steam will soon be exclusively used.

A Philadelphia paper says—The new engine built by the West Point foundry association, at New York, has been placed on the Philadelphia, Germantown and Norristown rail road, and after severe and repeated trials has been found completely to answer the expectations of the managers. Two engines are now in successful operation on this road, and their continual passing and re-passing each other, with their trains of cars, at great speed, afford a spectacle at once highly novel and interesting to our citizens. We understand the road is now in such excellent order, and the arrangements so well conducted, as to insure punctuality and despatch to visiters and travellers.

An act has passed the legislature of Virginia to authorise the making of a rail road from Norfolk to the Roanoke. The corporation of Norfolk has subscribed $69,000—and three-fifths of the whole capital being taken, a claim is made on the state for the other two-fifths.

The books were opened at Baltimore on the 6th inst. (to remain open for 30 days), for subscriptions to the stock of the Baltimore and Washington rail road.

A general meeting of the stockholders of the Baltimore and Ohio rail road is called to be held at the exchange, in the city of Baltimore, on the 8th of May next, to consider the act of the general assembly of Maryland, just passed, to provide for a continuance of the road to Harper's Ferry, &c. [The proposed compromise between the rail road and the Chesapeake and Ohio canal company.]

Imprisonment for debt. The legislature of Maryland, in December session, 1832, passed a law abolishing imprisonment for debt, if not exceeding thirty dollars—which was repealed at the last session, being thought rather to benefit dishonest persons, than prevent wrongs on worthy men. We have always believed, (having had much severe experience concerning the *whole* subject), that far more injury results to society from fraudulent debtors than hard hearted creditors. The general disposition is more to encourage and sustain an honest man struggling to pay his debts—than to oppress and imprison him; and such is the *interest* of creditors, which all men are most apt to pursue.

Flour—*inspections*. At Albany 51,390 bbls. in 1832. In Baltimore, for the quarter ending March 31, 1833—121,952 bbls. and 3,706 half bbls. wheat flour, 3,138 bbls. rye, 188 hhds. and 395 bbls. corn meal. At Petersburg, Va. same quarter, 9,453 bbls. and 314 half bbls. superfine, 1,428 fine, 294 middlings, and 48 condemned. At Richmond same quarter, 54,159 bbls. superfine, 1,060 half bbls. do, 4,658 fine, 2,090 middlings, 756 condemned.

Senatorial pleasantry. Some Washington correspondent of a northern paper relates the following anecdote.

"Mr. Clay is often sportive and amusing. The other day, during the debate on the revenue collection bill, Mr. Wilkins, whose hair is grey, and whose person is slender, said 'he was *young* and *stout*, and deemed *now* the best time to settle the spirit of nullification. *He* did not wish to leave it to posterity—and was willing to share his part of the danger.' Soon after he attempted to read a part of the South Carolina ordinance, but his eye sight not being very good, he apologized for the omission. Mr. Clay, in a low voice, but heard all over the chamber, immediately taking off his spectacles, said, with an arch look, 'take these, my *young* friend.' The effect was ludicrous. Every body laughed, and Mr. Wilkins enjoyed the joke as well as the rest of us."

Mr. Mangum, one of the senators from North Carolina, in his speech on Mr. Clay's compromise bill, said—"It becomes not me to trace the motives of those who brought forward this measure—but I have no doubt that they are, in an eminent degree, honorable. He felt deep gratitude to those who had come to our deliverence, in the hour of our deepest gloom, when we saw no lights save the sparkles which gleamed from the steel of the enemy. If I were tenfold more ambitious than I am, I would not derive MORE GLORY than he has who restores peace to an empire like this. *His laurels will grow green, and be forever cherished by a grateful people.*"

Debentures. Having copied the article alluded to—it is just that the following counter statement should be given:

The Globe contradicts the statement of the Journal of Commerce, that the secretary of the treasury had "directed the payments on certain debentures on woollens, &c. to be suspended, and the documents transmitted to be to Washington." No such order has been issued. What the story grew out of is this: the secretary was to pay these debentures out of *monies in the treasury*, and the *certificate* of the collector to the party of *the amount of duty* to be returned, was to be sent to Washington, whence, on its receipt, the money was immediately remitted to the claimant. This is the matter out of which so different a tale was made. [*N. Y. Standard.*

Return Duties. We understand that the amount of return duties under the 18th section of the tariff act of 1832 at this port, is estimated at about $1,200,000; that the amount of money already paid out is $120,000, and the amount of duties that has accrued during the month of March, under the new rates of reduced duty is $340,000. [*Boston Morning Post.*

"Yankee notions." Public dinners are not of frequent occurrence in the New England states, but the citizens of Roxbury, and its vicinity gave one to their late representative in congress, Mr. *Dearborn*, on the 28th ult. The following are some of the sentiments delivered on that occasion:

Hon. H. A. S. Dearborn—Who has uniformly and ably supported the interest, the honor and integrity of Massachusetts.

Mr. D. responded in an elegant and animated address, and drank to the health of his late constituents.

Gov. Lincoln was invited to attend—but could not. He sent the following—

The relation between the *constituent* and *the representative*—When the honorable services of the *one* are recognised with corresponding respect and gratitude by *the other.*

Regular toasts.

"The memory of Washington."

Gen. Lafayette—In America, the ardent apostle of republican liberty—in France, the impartial umpire between the monarch and the mob.

John Q. Adams—Like the sun, he appears greater towards his setting.

Daniel Webster—A Demosthenes, without venality—a Cicero, without egotism—a patriot, without stain.

The victory of the nullifiers—In *such* a conflict may they always have *such* a victory—*a hole to crawl out of.*

The compromise—Both parties are satisfied—and for the best possible reason—both are as they were.

J. C. Calhoun—Whether for good or for evil, still potent—God forgive him—the nation never can.

The new sugar process in Jamaica and Charleston—Clay-ed or not Clay-ed, that is the question.

The United States bank—Like steam—the greater the pressure, the higher it rises.

When children, we grieved at the story of *Daniel* among the *lions:* but the tables are turned; the *lions now* need all our sympathy.

High protecting duties—The highest duty of the patriot is to protect the union.

The land bill—There is no reliance on the executive, though based on Terra Firma.

Kentucky Clay—Not moulded or burned, but pure and unsullied.

The ladies—Our *duties* to them *must be specific;* we are not *rich enough* to pay them *ad valorem.*

State of parties. John Randolph,* in one of his sketches quotes the following lines as descriptive of the state of parties in Washington.

As when a Barber and a Collier fight,
The Barber beats the luckless Collier white;
In comes a Dyer of cerulean hue,
And in his turn he beats the Barber blue;
Then comes a brick dust man, with rouge o'erspread,
And beats the Dyer till he beats him red;
The rallying Collier whirls his empty sack,
Knocks down the brick dust man, and beats him black,
Black, white, blue, red, in rolling clouds are tost,
And in the dust the combatants are lost.

We can imagine no better description of a state of parties in which every man has taken some other man's color. [*Alexandria Gazette.*

Indian treaties. In the Globe of the 19th March, the treaty with the Menominees, as finally negotiated by gov. Porter of Michigan, and ratified by the senate, is published. Its chief object is to stipulate a reservation for the New York Indians on the east side of the Winnebago lake—the New York Indians, including the remnants of the Stockbridge, Munsees, Brothertown, St. Regis and Six Nation tribes, assent to the treaty. The same paper, of Saturday the 23d, contains the Chickasaw treaty, duly ratified by the senate, stipulating for the removal of the whole "Chickasaw nation" west of the Mississippi. The Cherokees are now the only Indians remaining within any of the states.

Indian names. We find in the Globe an Indian treaty signed by the following names:

Sau-sau-man-nee-kaw, or He who walks naked.

Khay-rah-tshoan-saip-kaw, or Black Hawk.

Hee-tsah-wau-saip-skaw-skaw, or White War Eagle, Dekaw-ray, jr.

Tsah-shee-rah-wau-kaw, or He who takes the leg of a deer in his mouth.

Wau-kaun-tsah-hay-ree-haw, or Roaring thunder, Four legs Nephew.

News papers. A case has been decided in New York, in favor of the New York Daily Sentinel against Lee, Powell and Co. wherein the principle was confirmed that persons receiving a newspaper, without ordering it discontinued, are liable in all cases for the payment of the same.

*It is denied that Mr. R. is the author of these sketches—bu they are not any the worse for that.

Digitized by Google

The President's intended tour. The following resolutions were adopted in the Massachusetts senate, relative to the reception of the president:

Whereas, information has been received that the president of the United States proposes to visit New England during the current year, and that he may be present in the capital of this state on the next anniversary of the Declaration of Independence: And whereas it has been the ancient usage and the uniform desire of this commonwealth, to receive the visits of distinguished public men, and especially of the chief magistrate of the union, with respect and hospitality—therefore

Resolved, &c. That his excellency the governor be, and he hereby is authorised and requested to tender to the president of the United States, if he shall visit this commonwealth during the present year, the customary hospitalities, and the respectful congratulations of the state.

Resolved, That a committee consisting of the president and five members of the senate, and of the speaker and six members of the house of representatives, be appointed, who are hereby authorised to make all suitable arrangements in the name and behalf of the state, for the proper reception of the president of the United States, if his visit to this state shall occur before the next session of the general court, and also for the celebration of the next anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, if it shall be the pleasure of the president to be present at the capital of the state on that occasion.

Massachusetts. Messrs. Adams, Briggs, Choate, Davis, Everett, Grennell and Reed, are re-elected to congress. Mr. William Bailies succeeds Mr. Hodges, who declined a re-election. A choice was not made in the Boston or Norfolk districts, lately represented by Messrs. Appleton and Dearborn. So in the Essex North district—for Mr. Cushing 2,506, Mr. Osgood 1,829, Mr. Bradbury 987, and 219 scattering.

Connecticut Messrs. Barber, Ellsworth, Huntington and Young have been re-elected, and Messrs. Foot and Tweedy take the places of Messrs. Ingersoll and Storrs, who declined a poll. They are all national republicans; and yet a large majority in the state legislature is friendly to the administration.

Pennsylvania. Three other unsuccessful attempts to elect a senator of the United States were made in this state. The last ballot stood thus—for McKean 46, Rush 42, Dallas 22, Sergeant 13, Muhlenburg 3. The legislative convention then adjourned *sine die;* and the question will come up before the next assembly.

The fact that the late state loan was taken in the name of the speaker of the senate, Dr. Burden, led to an investigation concerning it—which resulted in the unanimous declaration of the senate, "that every thing in relation thereto was conducted in a fair, honest and honorable manner."

Maryland. Sixteen savings institutions were incorporated by the last legislature.

Twenty-four divorces were granted, out of about fifty applications. [*Md. Rep.*

Virginia. The Richmond Whig of the 4th April, under head of "Glorious!!" says—Mr. Thomas J. Randolph, the grandson of Mr. Jefferson, with the weight of that illustrious patriot's name in his scale, has been *banged out, horse, foot and dragoons*, in Albermarle. We rejoice (not from any dislike to Mr. R., towards whom personally, we entertain the most kindly feelings), but for the honor of the old democracy, in the result of this election. The question was fairly tried—the election was conducted purely on the ground of federal politics. The greatest exertions were made, we understand, in favor of Mr. Randolph.—But all would not do. Old Albermarle was game to the backbone. She could not forget in favor of the grandson, that she had been the home of the grandfather.

This is a glorious consummation, and we doubt not to hear of many such. The most wonderful changes are going on throughout our state. Men who, upon its first appearance, hailed the proclamation with delight, upon due consideration of all its bearings, visit it with their profound, utter and unqualified execration. In six months, proclamation men will be as scarce as flies in winter. Mark that.

It is ascertained that Messrs. W. S. Archer, W. F. Gordon, J. Y. Mason, John M. Patton, N. H. Claiborne and John Randolph have been elected members of congress from this state.

Alabama. The university buildings are rapidly going on, and as many students are already attached as can be accommodated. The whole of this state was a wilderness, or the hunting ground of the Indian, a little while since.

An English writer mentions a conversation which he had with a "*native* of Alabama." The native must have been a young one. The population of what now is Alabama was less than 10,000 only 23 years ago—though now about 350,000—two-fifths being slaves. Ohio contains more than a million of free persons—but it was only 6 or 8 years since, we believe, that a "native" had been elected to the legislature of the state. Perhaps there is hardly yet a "native" in the judiciary of Ohio—or filling other like important offices.

From the Rocky Mountains. The St. Louis Times of March 23, publishes letters received from the Rocky Mountains, under date of Feb. 14, stating that the Black Feet Indians had attacked a party of traders, and killed two men—Mr. Vanderburg and Mr. Pillon. One of the Indians was killed.

Interesting American antiquities. We have been allowed (says a New York paper) by Dr. Akerly to translate the following extract of a letter he has received from a correspondent in Tobasco, who has been engaged for some years in occasional investigations into the ruins of the ancient city of Palenqua. Our readers will be gratified to learn that he proposes to publish an interesting work, composed of materials he has collected there.

Capital of Tobasco, Jan. 8, 1833.

To Dr. Samuel Akerly, New York.

My dear friend—I was on my third interesting visit to the ruins of Palenque, on the 21st of July, when I received yours of the 24th of March last, so that I have not been able to answer it before.

It would be impossible in a single letter to give you the details of the astonishing objects I have seen. I shall therefore only inform you, that from September, 1819, till the end of October, 1832, I have been constantly at work, and have collected materials for a work in two volumes. I intend to dedicate it to you, as it will consist of letters addressed to you, if you permit. During my labors I have expended $4,500 in travelling and investigations.

I have in my possession a description of ruins of which neither Don Antonio del Rio, nor any other person, has yet been able to describe; and although the antiquary and draughtsman Waldeck, whom I accompanied to Palenque, has written some notes, he will not be able to accomplish any thing because he has had few opportunities and does not visit the ruins.

I have in my possession a number of idols, some of baked clay, some of stone, and others of an unknown substance, but which may be petrifaction, jasper, or a species of marble. I have one of massive gold, but unfortunately, only of the weight of four dollars.

I have a plan of Tobasco, with four itineraries, which conduct to the ruins, and a plan of the great palace, which is larger than that of the Tuilleries in Paris. I have also some drawings, and a manuscript history of the ruins, which has been in my possession thirty years."

Pompeii. Our report of the last meeting of the royal society of literature, notices a letter of great interest from sir W. Gell, relative to recent important discoveries at Pompeii. Col. Robinson, it seems, in boring as the French do for Artesian wells, first fell upon a spring resembling the Seidlitz waters, which is already much resorted to, and has performed many cures. But a far more striking discovery ensued—no less than that of the long anticipated *port of Pompeii*, with its vessels overthrown upon their sides, and covered and preserved by the eruptive volcanic matter, which has thus anchored them for so many ages. About thirty masts have been found. What a mine of curiosity lies below, to gratify our thirst for knowledge of these remote times! Earnestly do we hope that funds will be found to carry on the work of exploring briskly, and on a large scale, instead of the tedious and imperfect process hitherto adopted by the Neapolitan government. [*Lond. Lit. Gazette.*

Roman Catholics. This sect has increased rapidly in Great Britain. In Manchester, which a few years ago numbered only 70, there are now 42,000 members of this church. Many other large towns shew a similar increase. They have 11 colleges and 35 seminaries in the island.

Monks of La Trappe. Ninety Irishmen of this community have returned to their own country since the extinction of the order in France, where they had expended £10,000 on their farm and abbey, at which all travellers were hospitably entertained, and a hundred of the neighboring poor provided with subsistence daily. Sir Richard Kane has given them 500 acres of land capable of being reclaimed by their own labor, and a subscription is commenced in Ireland for the purpose of supplying them with the funds necessary for its improvement. [*Dublin paper.*

British income and taxation. A question is often asked, what portion of a man's income is taken from him in taxes? Now, the total income of the people of G. Britain may be estimated on data which we have not room to specify, at £250,000,000. That of Ireland we may assume at £50,000,000, making in the whole for the United Kingdom £300,000,000. Of this sum more than one-sixth is drawn directly by government. But this is not the whole. The local taxes amount to a very large sum. The poor rates in England exceed £8,000,000. Other local taxes and contributions probably amount to £10,000,000 more. Then, as we have already explained, the higher and richer classes are exempted in a great measure from contributing their proper share of the national taxation. When these different circumstances are taken into view, it will hardly be disputed that one-third part of every man's income, in the middle and lower classes of society, is taken away by the tax collector. Every man who works nine hours a day is employed during three of these hours to enable him to pay his taxes. [*Tait's Magazine*

Digitized by Google

STULTZ. The celebrated London tailor, Stultz, lately died at Aires, in the south of France, on an estate lately bought by him for £100,000; his property besides this exceeds £400,000.

Stultz was the very prince of European tailors. He would not condescend to cut a coat or make a pair of breeches, for any but the nobility, or those who brought letters of *introduction*, and recommendation from persons of distinction, as individuals of decided fashion. It was a rare thing for any American citizen to be able to show *letters* from sources high enough, to afford him an opportunity to have his legs and shoulders measured by this famous knight of the thimble. [*Centinel.*

ENCYCLOPAEDIA AMERICANA. We have received the 13th and last volume of this truly valuable work; and congratulate the public on the success which has attended the liberal and enterprising publishers, Messrs. *Carey*, *Lea* and *Blanchard*, of Philadelphia—trusting that they will be remunerated for the extraordinary expenses which they have incurred in revising, correcting and otherwise improving, by large and important additions, especially relating to American subjects, the original work—or rather *plan* of this Encyclopedia, first published at Leipsic, in Germany, in 1827-29. A great sum must have been paid for editorship and contributions, though many of the latter were gratuitously rendered, by distinguished gentlemen—but the result is highly satisfactory to the public, whatever may be its effect on the publishers. It is, we think, the most interesting work, for ordinary use, that ever issued from the press, regard being had to the number of its volumes; and we heartily recommend it to all who desire to refresh their recollections, or obtain a knowledge of "things in general." We have made many references to articles concerning which we had some personal information, and have the pleasure to state a general accuracy which can hardly be excelled, in a work of this kind.

"THE NATIONAL CALENDAR" vol. 11th, for 1833, edited by Peter Force and published by Thompson and Homans of Washington city, has just been received. We owe it an annual paragraph of commendation, for the extent and value of the information which it furnishes, on the annals and statistics of the United States, and the organization of the government in all its branches,—congress, the judiciary, the executive departments, the army and navy. It is the "blue book," in which the name and emoluments of every officer in the employ of the United States, at home and abroad, can be found, and the names of all the foreign agents by whom communication is kept up between this and other nations. There are in it besides, a large number of official documents for the year, of the first public importance. It is an invaluable book for references on all topics connected with the acts, duties and compensations, of all the agents of the federal government, and many other matters of public concern. [*American.*

PENSIONS.—A statement showing the number of applicants for pensions under the act of a former session of congress, (June 7, 1832) allowing pensions to the officers and soldiers of the revolution, and showing also the number from each state.

New York,	5,613	Georgia,	474
Massachusetts,	2,451	Indiana,	423
Connecticut,	1,082	S. Carolina,	312
Vermont,	1,608	Alabama,	251
Maine,	1,236	Illinois,	203
New Hampshire,	1,288	Missouri,	91
Virginia,	1,282	Maryland,	57
Ohio,	1,237	Dis. of Columbia,	25
Tennessee,	1,212	Michigan,	16
Kentucky,	1,181	Mississippi,	9
North Carolina,	1,003	Florida,	8
New Jersey,	862	Delaware,	7
Pennsylvania,	854	Louisiana,	5
Rhode Island,	474		

MRS. AUSTIN. A Boston paper, speaking of an opera to be performed in the Tremont threatre, thus speaks of this famous "cantatrice."

"The whole is to conclude with the last act of the *Tempest*, in which Mrs. Austin, as the sylph-like *Ariel*, will sing, among other *morceaux delicieuse*, the beautiful air of "where the bee sucks," in which she is so *very unsuccessful* that the audience, a few evenings since, called upon her to rehearse it no less than four times—themselves willing to submit to any inconvenience rather than she should forego such an opportunity for improvement; and we have no doubt that a crowded auditory will be present this evening to witness her advancement in taste and science."

This is equal to the compliment that *Fielding*, in his "Tom Jones," paid to his friend *Garrick*, through the mouth of *Partridge*; who did not think that Garrick, (in Hamlet), was at all worthy of commendation—because that he, (Partridge), if he had seen *his* father's ghost would have been as much frightened as he (Garrick, as Hamlet) was!

THE EXPEDITION. Captain Back and his associates in the enterprise to discover and relieve captain Ross and his fellow adventurers, of which we made mention a few days since, arrived at this port in the Hibernia, from Liverpool. The undertaking, though we fear a hopeless one, is deserving of great praise, as well for the benevolence of its primary, as for the importance of its ulterior object. [*N. Y. Com. Adv.*

CHURCH ARTILLERY. During the delivery of a lecture on church property, by Mr. F. Coghlan, while on his political tour through Somerset, enumerating the various degrees of ecclesiastics, the name of canons attracted the attention of one of his hearers, who interrupted the lecturer as follows—"zur, stop zur, I wish to ax a question, zur—what sort of gannons be they? Be they *brass*, or be they iron gannons, zur?" [*English paper.*

HURRICANE IN CHINA. Brief notices have been published of a tyfoong, or hurricane, which was experienced in China on the 3d of August. The Canton Register speaks of it as "more disastrous than any before felt in China." It says:

The loss of life and property in native craft is, from all quarters, reported as terrific. Many bodies have been washed up at Macao and among the islands. Junks and smaller vessels are seen in great numbers wrecked, cast ashore or dismasted, especially at Lantao, and many are known to have gone down at sea; among the rest, are four out of the six junks which had started for Teen-tsing; two of these had returned, one dismasted; the others, which had from 400 to 500 chests of Malwa on board, sunk with all hands.

In *Canton* and the suburbs, above a thousand houses and sheds, besides 20 temples, have been wholly or partially overthrown, and about 400 persons crushed beneath them. By the destruction of boats, and of public places erected on stakes over the water, about 230 persons have lost their lives. The number of small boats destroyed is not ascertainable.

At *Keang-shan*, the ravages of the tyfoong were on an equal scale; 400 places of abode and 10 temples having fallen. Eleven passage boats, 90 trading boats, and about 60 small boats, were destroyed. The total loss of life was about 130 persons.

At *Macao*, 10 houses, 8 passage boats, 7 or 8 temples, and between 50 and 100 small boats are destroyed. Several junks swamped or ran on shore. Five war junks were lost at the Bogue and among the islands. Some officers and about 30 men perished.

VENEZUELA. The "Redactor" of this city, confirms, on the authority of the Caraccas Gazette, the reported prevalence of a mortal disease in the department of Apure. It is stated that in Montecal, and in all the other towns in that department, the fever has entered every house—and that in some of them not an individual has been spared. The few persons who are able to remove, are fleeing to distant places, abandoning their dwellings, cattle and all the property they cannot carry with them. Of the poor who are sick, the greater part die; and their bodies remaining unburied, increase the impurity of the atmosphere. These disasters have been greatly aggravated by the want of physicians, medicines and assistance; but we are glad to learn that the Venezuelean government has sent a physician and proper supplies for their relief.

This department is represented as one of the most fertile in that region, abounding in rich pastures, where the wild cattle are fed, the hunting of which is one of the principal employments of the inhabitants.

HIGH SPORTING! ☞ As I have seen a challenge from "Julia," by Bertrand, the favorite of the south, and understand that a similar challenge has been made by "Medoc," the favorite son of "Eclipse," the champion of the north, each to meet, on their respective courses, any nag that can be produced, for the sum of ten thousand dollars—four mile heats; and as it is not possible for me to accommodate both parties, and not wishing to make an invidious distinction between the two; I therefore propose, as the best means of affording a general accommodation, to meet them both in a sweepstake next fall, over the Broad Rock course, with Mary Randolph, by Gohanna; four mile heats; ten thousand dollars entrance; half forfeit; to close on the first of May next, and free for any other horse, mare, or gelding, in the world. WILLIAM WYNN.

March 14th, 1833.

N. B. The above course is named, not only because the part owner of the mare is the proprietor of the course, but because it would be a central ground.

The *Bonnets O'Blue* having sustained an injury in one of her hocks, will never again appear on the turf, and therefore settles her *racing accounts*, which stand thus:

She won the great sweepstakes at New York, seventeen subscribers, $500 each—eight starting,	$6,250
She won the stakes at Tree-hill,	[illegible]
Her match against Goliah	5,000
The club race at New York, four mile heats, against Black Maria, and others	1,000
Her match against Clara Fisher,	5,000
Sale of her,	4,000
	$22,050

Paid her entrance when she was beat by Sally Hornet,	$20
Her match with Little Venus,	5,000
Balance in her favor	17,030
	$22,050

These are all the races she ever started for, and the above account is true, as the records will show. [*Turf Register.*

Digitized by Google

FOREIGN NEWS.

London dates to Feb. 27—Paris to March 2.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.

Under the head of the Paris exchange, of 23d February, the Gazette de France says, that "owing to the new threats of England and France, the advice given by Russia to the king of Holland, and the annoyance of the existing state of affairs to Prussia, a speedy solution of the Belgian question was so strongly anticipated as to influence the funds very sensibly; the 3 per cents. which opened at 78 rose to 78 70, and left off at 78 50."

The menaces here referred to are contained in the following note. After recapitulating the substance of the preceding negotiation, the ministers of France and England declare—

Art. 1. After exhausting all means of conciliation to produce an amicable arrangement between Holland and Belgium, his Britannic majesty, in concert with the king of the French, that if by the 15th of March, his Netherlands majesty shall not send to the foreign office a note explaining the basis upon which a treaty of commerce between the two parties may be concluded, a French army, supported by a British naval force, will again enter Belgium, and will not again leave it till the treaty of 15th Nov. 1831, shall have been fully complied with.

Art. 2. The embargo on Dutch ships of war and merchant ships, shall be maintained both in France and England, till the above treaty be complied with.

Art. 3. France and England, before resorting to forcible measures, demand of Holland the abolition of the recently established toll.

Art. 4. The French and English governments, desirous of establishing the commercial intercourse of two governments whose relations are hereafter to be altogether friendly, and not willing that the treaty to be made should be onerous to either party, will endeavor so to conciliate the interests of the two belligerent powers, as that the treaty may be signed and ratified by both powers in the course of the present month of March.

Art. 5. The undersigned representatives of France and England, finish by reiterating to the Dutch government the declaration in the first part of this note, and they hope that his Netherlands majesty, sensible of the real necessity of terminating a question which keeps in suspense the commerce of all Europe, will cut the gordian knot and transmit to us admissable propositions.

TALLEYRAND.
PALMERSTON.

London, 10th February.

This note was followed by a new convention between France and Belgium.

A Ghent paper states that, the Dutch made a sortie on the 27th Feb. from Zebzecte, and captured a post of civic guards, consisting of 3 officers and 50 men. Reparation had been demanded for this violation of territory.

Brussels papers state that the question of a toll having been established on the Scheldt has been resolved to the satisfaction of all parties, that river being now as open as ever to the navigation of all nations.

FRANCE.

Paris, Feb. 26. On Saturday evening general Lafayette called at the residence of the ministers of foreign affairs, where his presence surprised more than one member of the diplomatic corps. The general came to intercede with the minister for some Polish refugees, and to propose to him to subscribe to a ball which the Polish committee of Paris give on Saturday next for the relief of the unfortunate families thrown upon their charge by the disaster of Warsaw.

The government has just purchased the library of the late baron Cuvier for 72,000f., and the Egyptian manuscripts of M. Champollion, jun. for 50,000.

The order recently issued for dismantling Strasburgh and other strong fortresses has been recalled by the French government, but on what grounds we have not heard it explained.

The Moniteur of this morning, *official part*, contains the following article:

Paris, Feb. 25. On Friday, 22d February, at half past 5 o'clock, P. M. madame the duchess de Berri sent to general Bugeand, commander of the citadel of Blaye, the following declaration:

"Under the pressure of circumstances, and influenced by the measures of the government, although I had *the most urgent reasons* for keeping my marriage secret, I think it due to myself, as well as to my children, to declare that I was secretly married during my residence in Italy.

Citadel of Blaye, 22d Feb. 1833.

(Signed) MARIE CAROLINE."

This declaration having been transmitted by gen. Bugeand to the president of the council, the minister of war, was immediately deposited among the archives of the chancery of France.

The declaration of the duchess de Berri gives a death blow to the legitimist party in France. Every one thinking what reprobation was excited throughout Europe by the marriage of Marie Louise to count Neipeig. We are curious to see what language the organs of legitimacy will now adopt.

"The affair of the duchess is ascribed to a young and handsome French viscount—not named.

Liberty has been promised to the duchess—who has announced her willingness to return to Naples.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

London, Feb. 25. The reports of dissensions in the cabinet have latterly gained more credit. It is said that two of the ministers of greatest influence are engaged in an intrigue, the result of which will be a rupture with the leaders of the whig party, and an alliance with the tories. It is asserted that several members of the cabinet, with lord Grey at their head, have threatened to hand in their resignations if such a state of things continue.

His majesty's ministers will take into immediate consideration the affairs of the East Indies. It is said the commerce with China will be made free.

SPAIN.

The Madrid Gazette of the 14th of Feb. contains a royal decree requiring a levy of 25,000 young soldiers to replace those who, by virtue of the decree of the 8th Feb. 1827, had performed their six years service. This levy, says the decree, is for the maintenance of the army upon the peace establishment.

The mission of sir Stratford Canning, has failed completely. The Spanish government refused to lend itself to the views of the British cabinet, and M. Zea, whose credit lord Palmeston was desirous of overthrowing, seems destined long to remain at the head of the Spanish cabinet.

The parent country, under the liberal and enlightened auspices of the queen-regent, will, it is said, acknowledge the independence of all her ancient possessions in the western hemisphere—Cuba, of course, excepted, which would benefit greatly by opening a trade with the revolted states.

PORTUGAL.

The letters received from Lisbon this morning concur in representing the army of Don Miguel as in such a sickly and disorganised state, that it is generally supposed the siege of Oporto will soon be raised. Wagons for transporting the sick were arriving from every direction. It is asserted that the forts and advanced works were about to be constructed on the environs of Lisbon, in the anticipation that the army of Don Pedro would march upon the capital. [*Globe.*

TURKEY AND EGYPT.

Accounts from Constantinople to January 31, says—that the agents dispatched by the French charge d'affaires at Constantinople, and by the Russian general Murawieff, to the head quarters of Ibrahim pacha, to open negotiations, have returned to Constantinople without accomplishing the object of their mission. A kind of armistice had, it is true, been concluded, but the term of it had nearly expired at the departure of the courier from Constantinople.

The representatives of tha European powers are said to be highly dissatisfied with the state of affairs, as they expected a more favorable result from their proposals to Ibrahim pacha. It was thought, at Constantinople, that if an arrangement between Turkey and Egypt should not be effected soon, France would take an active part in the affairs of the east.

Vienna, February 20. By an extraordinary conveyance we have received news from Constantinople that Ibrahim pacha is continuing his march, and that the main body of his army has arrived at Akschebir, and his advance guard at Kulahia. He declined entering into any negotiation, and would not suspend his military operations, except on positive orders from his father. Under these circumstances, the sultan had recourse to the Russian ambassador, who immediately sent orders to Sebastopol, for a Russian squadron to join the Turkish fleet in the Bosphorus. The sultan likewise asked for a body of Russian soldiery, which had arrived at the Danube, but this aid the ambassador refused. Every thing is perfectly tranquil at Constantinopla and it is generally believed that Mehemet Ali will accept the propositions which the two plenipotentiaries of Russia have gone to Alexandria to submit to him.

It is stated that the Turkish fleet had entered the port of Constantinople, and that the Persian envoy has frequent conferences with the reis effendi.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS.

The London Standard asserts that lord Althrope had tendered his resignation—which was not either absolutely accepted or refused.

A meeting was held in Liverpool on the 27th February, adverse to lord Grey's bill of coercion for Ireland. It was numerously and respectably attended, and seemed animated with strong and decisive feelings on the subject. In three days, upwards of thirteen thousand signatures were attached to the petition adopted on the subject.

A London paper of the 3d March, notices a report, the accuracy of which is however rather doubtful, that the question of the renewal of the East India company's charter is to be settled on the following terms:

Three or five years are given to the company to wind up their accounts, *but the trade is at once to be thrown entirely open;* the commercial capital is to go towards the liquidation of the Indian debt; the territorial possessions are to remain in the hands of the company; the dividends of the proprietors are to be secured upon the territories of India for a certain number of years, (ten is mentioned), and then the capital is to be paid off at £100; the directors are to be reduced to twelve, &c. &c.

The Irish suppression bill was still under debate in the house of commons. It was ardently defended, and as ardently opposed. The best talents of the house were fully brought out—and much confusion sometimes prevailed.

The Erin steam vessel, plying between England and Ireland, has been lost in a gale. Part of the wreck had been washed on

Digitized by Google

shore. It was believed that she had not less than ninety persons on board—all of whom perished.

Two female infants, united by the abdomen, like the Siamese twins, were lately born in England, and were to be exhibited.

In the house of commons on the 1st March on the presentation of a petition, Mr. Wilks asked whether the government contemplated any measures for the abolition of negro slavery. The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that, at present, he could not give any precise answer.

It has at last been decided, that Joseph Pease, the Quaker, who it was feared would lose his seat in the imperial parliament, on account of belonging to a society which sanctions affirmation instead of swearing—shall retain his membership. The subject was brought before the house of commons, and after some explanatory remarks from the hon. Mr. Wyon, and the solicitor general—

The speaker then put the question—"That Joseph Pease, esq. be allowed to make his solemn affirmation at the table instead of his oath."

The ayes seemed almost universal, and not one no was heard.

The speaker gave his decision—"I think the ayes have it"—amid tremendous cheering.

This is, really, pleasant intelligence—and shews that "reform" in England, means—something.

POLAND.

The latest intelligence from this ill-fated country is contained in the following article.

Since the press in Germany is under the severe control of Russia, Austria and Prussia, no information from Poland can be obtained but with the greatest difficulty. I must add that the Russian government takes the greatest care that its cruel ukase should not be known in foreign countries. I find, however, the means of informing you that the establishment of the mint and its steam engine have been carried away to St. Petersburgh, that the prisons are still full, and the fate of the imprisoned is not as yet known. Every thing indicates great poverty in the Russian finances. The increase of taxes, and the confiscations, without waiting for the sentence of the courts, is going on with greater vigor. Prince Czartoriski's magnificent country seat at Pulway has been announced in the Warsaw newspaper as confiscated, and offered for sale; and in Volhynia and Podolia the confiscations are almost general, without paying the mortgages on those estates. The system of transplantation continues to carry away to Siberia and the Caucasus the peasants and the small gentry. The measure which provoked the whole population was the violation of the church of Chenstokow, held in the greatest veneration. There was in that church a miraculous image of the holy Virgin. For many centuries, kings, princes, the wealthy, and the poor, carried to that church their offerings in diamonds, gold, silver and most rich *exvotos*. It was respected during the invasions of Turks and Tartars, but not by the Russians. That rich treasure, amounting to millions, has been robbed and carried away to St. Petersburgh. The annihilation of the Roman Catholic church—the introduction of the Greek schismatic religion—the total extinction of the Polish nation, is openly declared and sworn! The most provoking circumstance is the audacity with which the Russian government, in perpetrating these barbarous cruelties, denies and contradicts them in foreign newspapers.

Later—London papers to the 6th March.

The Irish enforcing bill was read a first time in the house of commons on the 5th of March, after a division—466 against 89. The 8th was appointed for a second reading of the bill. The great majority in favor of it, and in a reformed parliament, would shew that the present condition of Ireland requires an action beyond the admitted provisions of the constitution, and to be excused only because of the supposed necessity of the case. In the debate on the 4th, Mr. Emerson Tenant, a supporter of the bill, held the following language:

"These additional powers were not all that was necessary to put down disturbance. No; the ground work of disturbance in Ireland was poverty [hear, hear!] and predial agitation paved the way for political agitation. The fiercest agitation would fail of success, if they would only direct their attention to this point. As it was, he found the people reckless from want, and too ready to join in any scheme, however desperate. Let them alleviate the condition of the Irish peasantry—afford them opportunities of obtaining remunerative employment—snatch them from starvation—and give a legal maintanance for the helpless and the infirm—[general cheers.] Let them do this, and agitation would cease. But if they did not do this, the reign of agitation would be perennial [hear, hear, hear!] He regarded this measure as precautionary, and not final."

The farmers and gentry of parts of the country of Wexford have formed themselves into parties of nightly patrol, for the preservation of order.

The ministers seem resolved on the prompt abolition of slavery in the West Indies—but it is now stated that they are willing to allow some compensation to the owners of slaves.—The whole project will, probably, be laid before parliament soon after the Irish suppression bill, and Irish church reform bill, &c. are disposed of. It seems clear that laws will be passed for the abolition of slavery.

The money market was "firm," because of the great majority in favor of the Irish suppression bill?

The Carlists of France are much embarrassed by the duchess of Berri's avowal of her marriage. It is not stated to whom she is married, and some doubt whether she is a married woman—though she ought to be one.

The chamber of deputies has decided an allowance of 6,000f. or £240, to the widow of gen. Daumesnil, who both in 1814 and 1815 refused to surrender the castle of Vincennes to the allies.

Much is said about the affairs of Holland and Belgium—not worth repeating. The queen of the French was about to visit her daughter, the queen of Belgium.

Things are quiet in Spain. Nothing new from Portugal—except that a malignant fever prevailed in the armies of the rival brothers.

It is said that the Russian ambassador to Egypt has succeeded in inducing Ali pacha to suspend the further march of his army towards Constantinople.

LETTER FROM GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF BOGOTA.

Translated from the Constitutional de Cundinamarca for the New York Daily Advertiser.

La Grange, July 29th, 1832.

Not knowing whether the first expression of my gratitude has ever reached you, I have thought the present time the most propitious occasion to address once more to the respected inhabitants of Bogota my lively and sincere thanks.

On the first anniversary of your revolution of 1830, you were pleased to address me your kind felicitations. On this second anniversary I wish to repeat to you how much I feel honored by your high esteem, and how deeply I am affected by your kindness.

On reading again your valued letter, which I shall preserve through life as a treasure dear to my heart, I cannot but compare your hopes then expressed with the present state of Europe. Be convinced, however, that our popular week, so justly celebrated by you, has already greatly favored the emancipation of this part of the world, and that, in spite of obstacles, both foreseen and unforeseen, the principles and practice of true liberty will triumph in Europe, over the pernicious influences which are exerted to retard its progress. Thus we also count, I confidently assure you, on the independence of noble Poland, whose efforts you admire, and whose misfortunes we have now to deplore.

Among the results of our revolution, I have been particularly pleased with the relations established between France and the new states of the republican hemisphere. The sympathies of the French people for you have their origin in the time when your patriotic section of South America gave the first example of heroic insurrection. I hope that the mutual bonds which ought to unite our two governments, will daily become closer and stronger.

The wishes felt by all generous minds on this side of the ocean, to see your new republics rise to the highest grade of liberty, security, and public and private prosperity, are not devoid of all personal interest; for at the present time, when in spite of the long experience of above half a century in North America, malevolence and aristocratic and monarchial prejudices still throw a doubt over the superiority of republican institutions, it is important to the civilization of the world to prove that those institutions, far from being an occasion for disturbances and enmity, every where secure the peaceful enjoyment of all the rights of the man and the citizen.

General Santander, whose friendship I have had the pleasure of cultivating here, and to whom you entrusted your letter, will please transmit you this my second reply. His residence in the United States of the north must have given him opportunity to know the affectionate sentiments and fraternal sympathy which will ever be felt for you in that part of your hemisphere.

May the citizens of Bogota accept the tribute of my gratitude for favors which gratify me, and which I acknowledge with pride; while they accept my wishes for their general and personal happiness, together with my profound respect.

LAFAYETTE.

The Bogota papers inform us that this autograph letter is deposited in the library of the national museum, which has recently been restored and re-opened.

LETTER FROM MR. CAREY.

From the U. S. Telegraph.

DUFF GREEN, esq.—Sir: A misconstruction of a passage in your paper a few days since, in which you comment on my late valedictory, induces me to request the favor of a place for a few lines in reply. It has been supposed, from the passage in question, that my withdrawal from the defence of the protecting system, which you style "*a bad cause*," has arisen from a change of opinion. This is an inference which my language did not warrant, and which is entirely erroneous. Every fact that comes to my knowledge, connected with the subject, serves, more and more, to confirm me in the soundness of the doctrines. Our national experience affords the strongest corroboration of it.

In 1783 and 84 we tried free trade; that is, regulating our impost according to the wants of the government, and what was the consequence? Distress and desolation overspread the face of the land; paper money, instalment and tender law were introduced, accompanied by an insurrection which endangered the union.

We tried the same experiment in 1816. With the exception of coarse cottons, to favor the south, and some few other arti-

Digitized by Google

cles, the duties were calculated merely for the purpose of revenue. What was the result then? Nearly the same degree of distress and desolation as in the former case.

The first really protective tariff ever enacted in this country was in 1824. What has been the result? A spread of prosperity never exceeded, in the same space of time, in any other country in the world.

Holland tried free trade in 1816. What was the result? Hear the language of one of her statesmen:

"It is the tariff of 1816 which has opened the door to the productions of foreign industry. From that period there has been a constant deficiency in our finances.

"It is since 1816, that the ninth part of the nation is reduced either to mendicity, or to require assistance.

"It is since 1816, that manufactures and commerce have declined with giant strides.

"It is since 1816, that the metallic medium of the nation has been lavished to pay tribute to foreign industry.

"This disappearance of the specie is most perniciously felt by the reduction of the price of houses, which, except in Brussels and the Hague have fallen since that period more than one-third.

"It is ascertained, that the immense number of breweries and distilleries, which formerly existed in both parts of the kingdom, have undergone prodigious diminution."*

Russia made the same fatal experiment in 1818, with the same destructive results. Pray attend to the declaration of the emperor Alexander in the proclamation restoring the protecting system:

"In proportion as the prohibitory system is extended and rendered perfect in other countries, *that state which pursues the contrary system makes, from day to day, sacrifices more extensive and more considerable.* [illegible] opens its ports to all foreign productions—and all ports are shut against the articles it was in the habit of exporting. *It offers a continual encouragement to the manufactures of other countries; and its own manufactures perish in the struggle which they are as yet unable to maintain.*

"It is with the most lively feelings of regret we acknowledge it is our own proper experience, which enables us to trace the picture. The evils which it details, have been realised in Russia and Poland since the conclusion of the act 7—19 of December, 1818. *Agriculture without a market, industry without protection, languish and decline. Specie is exported, and the most solid commercial houses are shaken.* The public prosperity would soon feel the wound inflicted on private fortunes, if new regulations did not promptly change the actual state of affairs."

I have withdrawn from the arena in consequence of the utter destitution of co-operation throughout the whole of last year, on the part of those vitally interested, and the hopelessness of any in future. I am not easily discouraged; but it is obvious that it were worse than Quixotic for any individual, however zealous or ardent, to attempt, unaided, to stem the torrent that is sweeping away the system which has diffused such prosperity over the country. I am as much attached to the cause as I was in March, 1819, when I began; and, with proper support, would advocate it gratuitously to the last hour of my life, notwithstanding the various revolting circumstances by which the advocacy has been constantly attended at almost every step of my progress.

That the system at present adopted will produce most injurious effects, I feel confident; but not to the same extent as in 1783, and 1816. The extraordinary enterprise of our citizens, their excellent machinery, the wide extent of our Atlantic border, the almost boundless internal communication by our immense rivers, our canals and our rail roads, will avert a large portion of the evils which befel us in the two former periods, and enable us to compete with foreign rivals on much more equal terms. M. CAREY.

Philadelphia, March 29, 1833.

THE TREASURY BUILDING.

From the National Intelligencer, of April 6.

We observe an intimation in a letter from this city, published [illegible] that the papers destroyed, in the late conflagration of the treasury building, "relate to *unsettled* accounts." We have no doubt that this statement was according to the best information of the writer. But, as our statement was different from this, and as we took no little pains to obtain the facts accurately by an examination on the spot, before we put them on paper, we have felt it to be our duty to inquire more particularly into the matter, to vindicate or to retract our own account of the affair. W[illegible] were correct in our [illegible] to the letter. The mass of papers relating to unsettled accounts were in the offices of the comptroller, first auditor, and register; and were all saved. Some *settled* accounts, of old date, which were in the garret, as we stated before, and also in the cellar, were lost.

Among the offices attached to the treasury department, which were in a different building from that destroyed, we omitted to mention the general land office, the records and papers of which remain, of course, not only safe, but undisturbed.

☞We are very sorry to learn, that our mentioning the room by the name by which it was indicated to us by the officers about the building (as Mr. F. Lamb's room) was understood to be intended as a reflection on Mr. Laub. Very far from it. Such an idea never entered our head for a moment, and we now peremptorily disclaim it.

—

We have not yet heard the result of the investigation concerning the destruction of the treasury building, though it was promptly entered upon and earnestly pursued. Strong reports, however, are abroad that the conflagration was *not* accidental.

The Georgetown Gazette of the 10th, says—The recent investigation entered into with so much spirit in relation to the late fire at the treasury building, was closed on Saturday evening last about 8 o'clock. The result had not transpired yesterday—Though doubtless it will soon be made public. The steps taken by the secretary of the treasury in relation to this unfortunate affair, are highly creditable to him. The loss of public property of any description should never be suffered, without being made to undergo a rigid examination into the causes.

INDIAN EXPENSES.

From the act making appropriations to carry into effect Indian treaties, &c. as published in the Globe, we make the following abstract:

For the *Winnebagoes*, for treaty of Sept. 1832,	$23,382
For the *Sacks* and *Foxes*,	69,474
For the *Shawnees* and *Delawares*, October,	42,250
For the *Kaskaskias* and *Peorias*,	8,630
For the *Appalachicola* tribe	13,000
For the *Potawattamies* of the Prairie, by treaty of October 1832, and January 1833,	124,779
For the *Kickapoos*, by treaty of Oct. and Nov.	71,232
For the *Potawattamies of the Wabash*, October,	283,761
For the *Potawattamies of Indiana*,	81,520
For the *Piankeshaws* and *Weas*,	22,262
To enable the president to extinguish Indian titles in Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, in addition to grant of last year,	3,871
For expenses of the treaty at *Butte des Morts*, in addition to former appropriation,	400
For removal and subsistence of the Creeks, &c. in addition,	16,561
For arresting and guarding *Ioway* murderers,	1,023
For locating *Choctaws*, (not before provided for)	1,500
For expense of *Chickasaw* deputation to Washington,	1,650
For expense of keeping twelve prisoners of war of the *Sacs* and *Foxes* as hostages, &c.	2,500
For sundry small items—together,	4,030
For expenses of removing and subsisting the *Choctaw, Creek, Cherokee*, and *Ohio* Indians,	474,013
For holding a treaty with the *Potawattamies* to extinguish their remaining title in Illinois,	10,000
For carrying into effect treaty with *Chickasaws*, to be refunded out of sales of their land,	100,000
For do do with the *Ottowas*,	47,400
For do do with the *Menominees*,	58,600
For several small items—together,	5,000
For expense, if found necessary, of repressing Indian hostilities on the frontiers,	100,000
	$1,566,838

The greater portion of this million and a half of dollars is for enabling these Indians to remove, compensating them for their improvements, and providing blacksmith's shops, school masters, &c. in their new settlements. There is also a proviso in the bill to compensate the American board of foreign missions for the value of their improvements, &c. in the *Choctaw* settlement, sold at the treaty of the Dancing Rabbit creek.

[*N. Y. American.*

LOTTERIES ABOLISHED IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The bill for the suppression of lotteries in the state of Massachusetts, was approved by the governor on the 23d ult. The first section imposes a fine of from one hundred to two thousand dollars upon any person who shall make, sell or offer for sale, or have in his possession with intent to sell, or offer for sale, or be in any way concerned in the sale of any lottery ticket, or certificates, taken on security for any lottery ticket, or shall be in any way concerned in the management or drawing of a lottery, or shall knowingly permit the drawing of lotteries, or sale of, or raffling for [illegible] in any building owned, rented or occupied by him. One half of the penalty is given to the informer. A second conviction is made punishable, in addition to the fine, by imprisonment in the house of correction, for a term of from three to twelve months.

The second section creates a penalty of from thirty to one hundred dollars, for advertising the sale of tickets or certificates, or for the exhibition of any sign or symbol in any way indicating where they may be purchased.

The third section provides that the making, selling or offering for sale, or having in possession with such intent, of tickets or certificates in fictitious lotteries, or lotteries not authorised by any state, shall be punished by imprisonment in the state prison, for a term of from one to three years. In this case, the person accused is held to prove that the ticket was a genuine ticket in a lottery authorised by some state, his failing to do this is to be held as proof that the ticket is fictitious. On a conviction under this section, the prosecutor is entitled to a reward of fifty dollars from the commonwealth.

*Considerations sur le projet de loi, concernant le nouveau système financier du royaume des Pas-bas. A Bruxelles, 29 Juin, 1821, page 29.

Digitized by Google

The fourth section authorises justices of the peace to make preliminary examination on complaint as in cases of other offences.

The fifth section forfeits to the commonwealth the money which any lottery adventurer may receive for any prize drawn in any real or fictitious lottery, to be recovered by information or for action for money had and received.

The last section repeals all former laws on the subject except as to actions or prosecutions already commenced under them.

RAIL ROAD COMPANIES—NEW YORK.

From the "New York Annual Register," by Mr. *E. Williams*, for 1833, the following schedule of rail road companies incorporated in that state, is copied. [We take this opportunity to express our opinion, that Mr. *Williams'* annual is the most valuable work of its kind published in the United States. Mr. *Force's* "National Calendar," also stands at the head of the list, for interesting matters belong to its class.]

INCORPORATED RAIL ROAD COMPANIES.

Albion and Tonawanda—from Albion to Batavia, incorporated in 1832, capital	$250,000
Auburn and Erie canal—from Auburn to Erie canal, incorporated in 1832, capital	150,000
Aurora and Buffalo—from Aurora to Buffalo, incorporated in 1832, capital	300,000
Brooklyn and Jamaica—from Brooklyn to Jamaica, incorporated in 1832, capital	300,000
Buffalo and Erie—from Buffalo to Erie county, Penn. incorporated in 1832, capital	650,000
Black river company—from Rome to Ogdensburgh, incorporated in 1832, capital	900,000
Catskill and Canajoharie—from Catskill to Canajoharie, incorporated in 1830, capital	600,000
Dansville and Rochester—from Dansville to Rochester, incorporated in 1832, capital	300,000
Dutchess—from Poughkeepsie to Connecticut, incorporated in 1832, capital	600,000
Elmira and Williamsport—from Elmira to Pennsylvania, incorporated in 1832, capital	75,000
Fish House and Amsterdam—from Fish House to Amsterdam, incorporated in 1832, capital	250,000
Great Au Sable—from Great Au Sable to Port Kent and Peru, incorporated in 1832, capital	150,000
Harlæm—from Prince street, N. York, to Harlæm, incorporated in 1831, capital	350,000
Hudson and Berkshire—from Hudson to Massachusetts state line, incorporated in 1832, capital	350,000
Hudson and Delaware—from Newburgh to Delaware river, incorporated in 1830, capital	500,000
Ithaca and Geneva—from Ithaca to Geneva, incorporated in 1832, capital	800,000
Ithaca and Owego—from Ithaca to Owego, incorporated in 1828, capital	300,000
Lake Champlain and Ogdensburgh—from lake Champlain to Ogdensburgh, incorporated in 1832, capital	3,000,000
Mayville and Portland—from Portland to Mayville, incorporated in 1832, capital	150,000
Mohawk and Hudson—from Schenectady to Albany, incorporated in 1826, capital	600,000
New York and Albany—from N. York to Albany, incorporated in 1832, capital	3,000,000
New York and Erie—from New York to lake Erie, incorporated in 1832, capital	10,000,000
Otsego—from Cooperstown to Colliersville, incorporated in 1832, capital	200,000
Rensselaer and Saratoga—from Troy to Ballston Spa, incorporated in 1832, capital	300,000
Rochester—from Rochester to Genesee port, incorporated in 1831, capital	30,000
Saratoga and Fort Edward—from Saratoga Springs to Fort Edward, incorporated in 1832, capital	200,000
Saratoga and Schenectady—from Saratoga springs to Schuylersville, incorporated in 1832, capital	100,000
Schoharie and Otsego—from Schoharie county to Susquehannah river, incorporated in 1832, capital	300,000
Tonawanda—from Rochester to Attica, incorporated in 1832, capital	500,000
Utica and Susquehannah—from Utica to Susquehannah river, incorporated in 1832, capital	1,000,000
Warren county—from Glenn's falls to Warrensburg, incorporated in 1832, capital	2,500,000
Watertown and Rome—from Rome to Watertown, incorporated in 1832, capital	1,000,000
Total,	$17,555,000

The rail roads at present in operation are,

The Mohawk and Hudson from Albany to Schenectady	15 miles.
The Saratoga and Schenectady, from Schenectady to Saratoga springs	21 do.
	36

These two rail roads from a continued line from Albany to Saratoga springs.

The principal works under contract, or in progress, are, the

Ithaca and Owego rail road, length	29 miles.
Harlæm rail road, from Harlæm, city of New York, to the Bowery, near Prince street	7 do.

COBBETT IN PARLIAMENT.

Among the measures of reform which Mr. *Cobbett* proposes to introduce in British legislation since he has become a member of the house of commons, is one that that body should assemble in the morning and carry on its deliberations by day. At present it does not meet till evening, and frequently remains in session during the whole night. An healthy and vigorous legislation, it is urged, is incompatible with late hours, and that the public are entitled to the best time of their representatives. "All night work should, if possible, be avoided," says Mr. Cobbett, "birds of omen, bats, toads, and all noxious things, did their work at night:" if he ever published an English Dictionary as a companion to his Grammar, he would give to some words new definitions, as for instance, "*midnight*," "the time which bats, boroughmongers and banditti find to be most favorable for committing their depredations." The chief argument set up against this proposal, is the inconvenience it would occasion to the ministers, whose presence in a British parliament is absolutely necessary, whilst their time throughout the day, is occupied with the business of their departments. Another objection to it, not however, so deeply avowed, is that a complete change in the habits of life of many of the members would be necessary, 'ere it would be convenient for them to meet at the comparatively speaking, early hour contemplated by Mr. Cobbett.

[They who are not ignorant of the history of Ireland must remember that Mr. Plunket—now lord chancellor of Ireland—was one of the most eloquent and most zealous of those who opposed the *union* projected and effected by Mr. *Pitt* and lord *Castlereagh*, three and thirty years ago; and they will understand the annexed extract from a report of a speech recently inflicted by *Cobbett* upon the reformed house of commons:]

"In agitating and discussing the subject of the repeal, they had a right to go back to the opinions which were expressed by public men at the time when the union was first brought forward, notwithstanding those men might be in power now. The noble earl at the head of the government was justly cited as an evidence; and there was (said the hon. member, slapping the table with huge force) another man whom I shall now cite, and if there ever was a thing known which would make a man hate his name, the evidence which he would now bring forward, out of that man's own mouth, ought to have that effect. After using every argument that ingenuity, truth, reason, or justice, could inspire him with, against the union, after declaring the law by which it was effected to be one which wisdom, honor, and justice combined to repudiate and to disclaim, the person to whom he referred said, "For my own part I will resist this iniquitous measure to the last drop of my blood, and to the last gasp of my existence, and when the period of my dissolution approaches, I will, like another Amilcar, take my children to the altar and swear them, as Hannibal, to eternal hostility against the invaders of my country's freedom." (Cheers). Such was the declaration of the man to whom he alluded. And where was that man? Was he alive? Was he an exile from his injured, his deplored country? Had he fled the scene of her sorrows, and hid his head in a foreign clime? What! was it possible! Did he perceive that man in the present lord chancellor of Ireland? (Laughter). Yet indeed, could it be? Chancellor of Ireland, and perchance but an untoward and hateful destiny, the keeper and manager of those dungeons into which were to be cast the unhappy men who now sought to vindicate his opinions. And where, too, are all the young Hannibals? (Immense shouts of laughter). Where those youthful martyrs whom he was to swear at the altar—ay, "swear to eternal hostility against the invaders of his country's freedom!" Where were they? He would tell men where they were and what they were doing. There was Hannibal the first—(laughter)—the hon. and rev. Thos. Plunket, dean of Down, in the gift of the crown, including a district of six parishes—"bless his capacious soul!"—(a laugh)—a benefice of £2,863 per annum. Then comes Hannibal the second—the hon. John Plunket, an assistant barrister of the county of Meath, £600. Crown prosecutor—oh, oh! and there will be business soon for him—£800 and another appointment of £300—making a total of £1,700 a year for this youthful patriot. Next came Hannibal the third—the hon. David Plunket, prothonotary and examiner of the court of common pleas in Ireland, £1,500; having besides patronage to the extent of £4,100 a year. Again, a fourth Hannibal starts forth in the guise of Patrick Plunket, who, as secretary to the banker's commission, received £900; and from other sources an income, altogether, of £2,100. The hon. and rev. William Plunket next put in his claim, but he must be considered an ill-used man, for though he was incumbent of the living of Bray——

"Several hon. members—a vicar of Bray! (loud laughter.)

"Mr. Cobbett—yes, vicar of Bray; yet his income was but £470, with a house and glebe. The hon. Robert Plunket, another of the reverends, closed the list of this devoted family."

[The manners of St. Stephen's chapel are well displayed in a London reporter's account of the manner in which *Cobbett* was treated while proposing an amendment to the answer to the king's speech:]

"The hon. member was proceeding, when he was interrupted by repeated coughs and other discordant noises. "Sir," said he, addressing the speaker, I appeal to you to be so good as to keep order. The house is very much mistaken if it is supposed that I am to be put down. I am not silenced in that way, I assure you; and if this course of proceeding is to be persevered in I shall adjourn the house. (Laughter and cheers from the benches

Digitized by Google

in the rear of the hon. member). The best way is for you to sit and hear me quietly, for I do assure you I was quite prepared for this. [The noises here partially ceased.] The hon. member continued. The people expected something more than they had hitherto obtained from the reform ministers—[loud coughing]—instead of their asking a reformed house of commons for leave to render Ireland the scene of bloodshed and civil war. [Loud coughing.] "If, sir," said Mr. Cobbett, "we cannot have order, I will adjourn the house. You may depend upon it I will not spare them a word, they shall hear every word I intend to utter. [Laughing and cheers.] The people [continued the hon. member] expected from the house of commons to hear that some measures of relief were to be applied—[loud coughing, which interrupted the hon. member, who good naturedly shook his head, and waited till it had partially, not wholly ceased]—and they also expected to hear from ministers some recommendation to the parliament to take from those plunderers, who now feed upon their earnings, their ill gotten wealth, and relieve them from those who had so long put their hands into the public purse. But no, none of these topics appeared in the speech from the throne. [Coughing, and attempts to drown the hon. member's voice."]

CONDITION OF JAMAICA.

From a correspondent of the Journal of Commerce

Kingston, 11*th Feb.* 1833.

You have heard of the splendid estates and sumptuous living of the Jamaicans: of their planters who could vie with the princes of the earth in their gorgeous palaces and rich equipment. Alas! those days are past. Their estates are a burthen, and even their life is held by a slender tenure. They know not but that their food, served by a numerous retinue, contains the deadly poison. How horrible to fear the assassin and the incendiary, in the most familiar faces. Yet such is the case, and one of the fairest islands of this fair earth must be abandoned to beings whose situation has made them little superior to the beasts, and whose course is downward. You well know that I am no friend to slavery. Far be it from me to advocate it. I give facts.

Under existing circumstances, I am well assured that the white inhabitants cannot remain. Their costly sugar estates will not pay the expense of management. Credit is entirely extinct. An estate of 200 negroes could not hypothecate the ensuing crop for £200. In fact, merchants in England direct their factors to give no credit bottomed on cane top. Mortgagees relinquish immense sums rather than pay trifling annuities on estates. A hundred negroes were sold for $7,500. But legislation here and at home, a change of time, competition, and for aught I know, the natural and necessary consequences of the system of slavery, have brought about this state of things.

Certain it is that real estate is considered almost without value, a heavy island debt is impending, taxation intolerable, and life itself exceedingly precarious. I learned the above in conversation with two gentlemen who have been long in the house of assembly. The inhabitants generally labor under a keen sense of injury done them by the mother country, and look to ours as the land of promise. In consequence, many are making remittances to our cities. Some gentlemen of character and fortune have already removed, and many are preparing to follow. Those gentlemen informed me that the emigration would be immediate and large. They inquire with great earnestness respecting the agriculture of the free states, as nothing would induce them to live again in a slave country.

SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION.

From the Charleston Mercury.

JUDGE RICHARDSON'S SPEECH.

I have already (says the correspondent of the Mercury) given you the purport of what judge Richardson said, on the 15th, upon Mr. Phillips's motion to strike out the preamble of the ordinance. The following are his remarks, somewhat more in detail.

He set out by saying, that he approved so entirely the enacting clause of the ordinance, that he might even have omitted his objections to the preamble, if that question had not been set on foot by others.

He regretted that the convention could not content itself with the act, about which all seemed to agree: that it should have been thought necessary to join to that act, *reasons*, upon which we were certain to differ.

If preambles were to be employed, they should, at least, perform the proper business of a preamble. They should strongly and succinctly set forth the great motives to the legislative act; and, above all things, they should always found themselves as strictly as possible, upon perfectly correct facts. They should recite nothing that is not perfectly just.

Yet your preamble contains, among the chief facts that it alleges, two that are palpably incorrect.

Its first statement is this—"that congress has made such a reduction and modification of the duties upon foreign imports," as brings them down to a revenue standard.

I ask gentlemen, is this so? Are the duties reduced already to a revenue standard? I believe if the act is consulted, it will be found, that *no reduction happens till the 30th of December next:* that it is, even then, but a very partial reduction: that, upon one important article of southern consumption—low priced plains—the duties have been raised 45 per cent; in short, that this entire "reduction and modification," is future, and cannot therefore be spoken of, in the terms that you employ.

The second statement, in the preamble, seems to me little better founded. It is, that the duties are by the act, "*brought down to a revenue standard.*"

In this declaration, I cannot, after the most careful and dispassionate investigation that it was possible for me to give, by any means concur. If I in any sort understand the true merits of this compromise, they fall short of what the preamble attributes to them. I cannot, with the utmost effort of my vision, perceive that this modification reaches a revenue point. I grant that it is a step towards it; the second great step. For the reduction of last year was another, and the first.

I am far from believing that even your ultimate rate of 20 per cent. (which you are only to reach in 1842), will then be low enough. I am willing, however, to accede to your present steps, because the late act has really done much. I regard it as the *inception* of the overthrow of the American System. It is proof of that change, on which I had always relied—the change of public opinion. This is its true effect—no more.

MR. MCDUFFIE'S REPLY.

Mr. McDuffie said, that it had not been his intention to speak upon this question. The remarks of the gentleman from Spartanburg compelled him to take the floor.

That gentleman objects to the preamble as asserting "*that a reduction had* been made." If the gentleman had been good enough to read that to which he objected, he would have seen that it asserts no such thing. The words run thus, "Whereas the congress of the United States by an act recently passed, has made such a reduction and modification of the duties upon foreign imports, as amounts, substantially, *to an ultimate* reduction of the duties to a revenue standard."

But, were it even as the gentleman supposed, what would be the common understanding of the words? Would any man apprehend them as conveying what was not true? I heard that very gentleman, last summer, speak in the very same form of the act of 1832, which had certainly not then gone into force. He then said, "that act had reduced the duties to the extent of between six and twelve millions."

His first objection therefore, becomes a mere verbal criticism—a technical quibble.

As to his second, let us see if the act *does* provide for an ultimate reduction of the duties to a revenue standard.

That principle is distinctly laid down in the bill; and it is joined to the further declaration, that no more revenue shall be raised, than is necessary to defray the economical expenses of the government. These, with a system of *ad valorem* duties, and a class of free articles, make the general principles of the bill.

Among the articles made free, in December next, are the very important ones of linens, silks, and worsted goods: classes of commodities exceedingly important to us; and which will give us, beyond all question, exchanges for our particular productions, amounting to at least 15 millions of dollars *per annum.* Linens, most especially, are strictly an article of southern trade: and all these would be paid for, by our productions only.

If this reduction do not go into immediate effect is it not as speedy as any of which the gentlemen can shew me an example. Was an instant reduction ever seen? Was such a thing ever claimed? Could it be made, without ruin to the commercial interest.

If the gentleman will examine, I assure him that he will find the reduction on the protected articles only, which is to happen in December next, between three and five millions; besides ten per cent. general, on the receipt of duties of all such unprotected articles, as pay more than twenty per cent.

Surely then, all these advantages made the bill not entirely unfit to be compared with that of 1832, which this gentleman and his friends magnified as "the best of all possible bills"—as a bill that it was a species of impiety not to fall down and worship.

What is our present position as to this question, compared to our former one? Four years since, what said your popular president?—the man who, from the boundless ascendancy of popular favor, wields the whole force of your democracy? He said that a system, for the purposes of protection alone, would never in this country be abandoned—"that this was neither to be expected nor desired."

What said he, once again? "That no arrangement of the duties could ever be expected to take place, which would not always leave a large surplus revenue in the treasury."

I ask the gentleman, where is now the man who would dare say this? There is not such a one in congress. Even Mr. Webster, the boldest champion of the system, now shrinks from such an avowal, and cowering before the strength of our principles, admits that only such revenue may be raised, as the economical administration of the government requires.

How would he have been regarded four years ago, who set up even a claim to this principle? Sir, he would have been treated as a mere madman—a political Quixote.

But "this," it seems, "is but the second step." So says the honorable member, whose opinion I can little expect to shake. My own, however, made up in close view of all the facts, is utterly opposite: and I here solemnly declare, in the presence of God, that the act of 1832 would never have been touched, except for the acts of this state. Sir, the fact was avowed to me by a union member of this state—one of the most distinguished of his party, and high in the confidence of the president.

Digitized by Google

But the gentleman refers all reduction to the agency of the executive. Has he forgotten when, only last summer, we were told with the utmost pomp of statements almost under the great seal, "that the tariff was completely brought down to the wants of the government?" Can he not remember how these were heralded to us here, for purposes that I need not now mention? Why sir, all the world knows, that this tariff of 1832 was a Jackson tariff. Upon that tariff was he voted for—upon that tariff elected. Think you, sir, that his last message would have been sent, if his election had been then pending? Never! No, sir. That tariff, not yet put in execution, was his, and as such, openly avowed as the final settlement of the question. Every man who refused to accept it was denounced. It was the test, the very bond of Jacksonism, held up as such to the whole host of the timid or the corrupt; and reverently kissed as the new covenant of faith, by all who aspired to be the friends of the president.

Within a little three months, lo! he comes to us, with a message to recommend a reduction of the duties!—of duties not yet gone into effect—of duties, just now clamorously proclaimed to have been reduced to their lowest possible rate—of duties, to be content with which, had just now been the very test of Jacksonism!

And what was the high motive that urged him to this? I speak it with regret, for the president, and with shame, for the country: but I only speak what I know, when I say that he did it, to crush the party that he hates, in this state. He did it, that he might be able to hold up these declarations to them and say, "audacious rebels! look what Andrew Jackson has said! Traitors that you are! why did you not wait?"

To this, it was impossible for us to reply, unless humbly, in such sort as this: "How, may it please your majesty, was it possible for us to guess this? Was it easy to divine that you,—the Ajax of the tariff just adopted, were, in the next moment to turn its destroyer? What, but the spirit of prophecy, or of omniscience, could have foreseen a course so devious."

As for Clay's bill, I voted for it, with strong reluctance. I did not regard it as doing enough. On this question, my peculiar views are well known to be different from those of the chief part of the southern country. Had I consulted them alone, I should have said "accept only of uniform *ad valorem* duties." I did not, however, think that my particular personal opinions should be forced upon the south; and I acquiesced in the undivided wishes of our friends.

It is true that what has been obtained must be regarded as in some sense, an achievement. It is, for the moment, a victory. But it is only such, if the people, now awakened, refuse to let it lull them into even an instant's security. There is, in this general government, a proclivity to consolidation, that nothing except the most resolute watchfulness can stay. The southern states are made, by their peculiar position and institutions, the centinels of the liberties of this confederacy. Were I to die this night, my last words should be, to bid them act, as if the day were at hand, when they must defend their freedom.

Strong as is the present cause of contest, and powerful as is the necessity that compels us to maintain this battle, a yet deeper cause, bringing with it a still more imperious necessity of resistance, lies beneath the present question. We were threatened with it, even at this session, and in the very midst of questions, that already asked the whole wisdom and moderation of the country to appease them. They told us, openly, that we must pay for the vice in our institutions; that the free labor of the north must not—shall not be degraded to the same footing with the slave labor of the south.

If, then, I am disposed to accept this compromise, it is with a distinct annunciation to our people, that their zeal, their courage, their vigilance, must not be abated; nor must they, for a single instant, intermit their military preparations. I tell them, that we have greater need to be prepared to defend ourselves against these people, than against a foreign enemy. I have heard them, even in congress, talk openly of attacking us; and that, in a manner, with an exultation—that would render fiends themselves as fit confederates for us, as these men.

Without such preparation, and without a strong military spirit, no people ever yet maintained its liberties. But all our peculiar circumstances—all our institutions—render a thorough system of defence absolutely indispensable to our safety as well as freedom. Our militia should be as well trained as the armies of Napoleon.

It is, besides, possible that this accommodation—this compromise—may not be respected. As that compromise should be our very utmost concession, we must hold ourselves ready to take the most decided steps, the instant that it is violated

As for the force bill, it is clearly an attempt to vest in the president all authority whatsoever. Gigantic as are the powers that it gives he will know full well how to eke them out, with supplementary violence, if an occasion ever should arise, that could, by chance, render a yet wider discretion necessary. Of his skill and moderation, in construing the law, we have no unapt example in his notion of hanging the Hartford convention, *under the 2d section.*

The powers now conferred upon him are far more than dictatorial. Rome, it must be remembered, never appointed a dictator except in the very last public necessity, when the *existence* of the state was threatened. Here it is done for much more than a year, and upon a mere question of the revenue laws.

Finally, to compare this bill with Mr. Verplanck's, which the presidential party attempt to place above it, as far better for the south. This bill has the principle of equal duties. Mr. Verplanck's had no principle whatever. In this, the *minimums* are totally abolished: in that, a number of specific duties were retained. In this, there is no heavy burden on the great articles of consumption. In that, those very articles are heaped with extravagant duties.

As to the reduction under the present bill, it must not be overlooked, that the largest annual diminutions are made to fall precisely on those things which are taxed the most.

The correspondent of the Mercury, adds—I give you the general substance of the above; and, I believe, with not a little fidelity. As to its *spirit*, however, and that ovewhelming energy of utterance; that intensity of thought and passion, with which he pours out his strongest passages; I cannot, of course, give you the slightest image of that. I have only attempted his speech, indeed, because I knew that the public curiosity demanded it, and because there was little probability of his publishing it.

Yours, &c.

SOUTH CAROLINA—SCRAPS.

Before the Natchez left Charleston, capt. Zantzinger gave a splendid entertainment on board his ship, to a very large company of ladies and gentlemen—the latter of both political parties. On the departure of the Natchez, the Courier, a union paper, bid her "God speed," at which the Mercury took offence. The Courier thus rejoins:

The *Mercury* quotes our farewell apostrophe to the *Natchez*, and appends to it the following doggrel lines, which are certainly entitled to all the praise that bald wit, impotent spite, and unmeaning profanity, can win for their common offspring:

"God bless the royal troops, though treason scoff;
God bless their pigtails, though they're now cut off!
And if at Washington old Nick should revel
As president elect, *God bless the devil!"*

The *Mercury* may well say that it does not "*boast* of the passage of Clay's bill as a triumph." Such ebullitions of ill nature as the foregoing betoken any thing but the feeling of victory. We confess ourselves at a loss how to appreciate that patriotism which finds cause of offence in our invocations of blessings on the gallant ship which has for sometime reposed so gracefully on the waters of our harbor, dispensing its hospitality to our citizens, without distinction of party, and proudly unfurling to the breeze the honored and glorious flag of "union and liberty."

We find the following article in the Charleston, (S. C.) Mercury, it is a precious piece of coxcombry and deserves to be embalmed, like the holy beetles in Egypt:—

The *Courier* asks whether the United States flag formed any part of the decorations of the state rights ball. It did not; and there was reason that it should not. The ball was given by those who had volunteered to defend their state from invaders sent against her under that flag. Our harbor has not yet been evacuated by the president's forces, and the flag of the union is seen daily floating over our forts strengthened *against South Carolina.* Besides the United States flag is identified with the bill of blood, so long as that infamous bill remains unrepealed. When *that* is torn from the statute book, and all hostile manifestations against our state have ceased, and we can think of the union without thinking of tyranny, then, and not till then, can the flag of the union regain in the bosoms of Carolinians, the reverence and affection it once commanded.

The Camden, (S. C.) Journal says: The nullifiers of Georgia appear to be rather more fiery than those of our state. The members of the club at Macon, on hearing that Mr. Forsyth had voted for the revenue collection bill, assembled and prepared an effigy of their senator, which they suspended by the neck, and after amusing themselves for an hour with grinning and making wry faces at it, they set it on fire!—But this was not sufficient—fearing they would not acquire "renown" enough should they stop here, they loaded a 24 pounder, and, at the distance of eight paces, fired at the senator and completely demolished him—not "a vestige of the noble figure could be found," not even—a "*grease spot!*"

The Richmond *Whig*, which has strongly condemned both the president's proclamation and the "force bill," thus speaks of the new nullifying ordinance of South Carolina:

"Contrary to our hope, the force bill has been nullified by the S. Carolina convention—an injudicious step we think, and almost as supererogatory as the act itself. When by the repeal of the ordinance at November, the enforcing act was deprived of subject matter whereupon to act—when no appeal had been taken to congress against it, and no opportunity offered for the deliberate reflection of the country to perceive its inutility, impolicy and unconstitutionality, we must think that South Carolina has acted with a precipitancy unworthy of her own dignity, and extremely calculated to embarrass her friends and impair the success of their exertions for a legislative removal of the grievance. Do we not know that the principal difficulty in compromising the tariff was the apprehension that the act would be ascribed to intimidation? Do we not know that the argument which has arrayed, by its plausibility, almost the whole American people against her, was—"what—shall twenty-three states yield to the dictation of one?" She has again, needlessly, exposed her conduct to the same odium, her cause to the same

Digitized by Google

prejudice, and her friends to increased embarrassement. If before, her attitude was so formidable a bar to the repeal of the tariff, how much more so will it be *now*, when the same urgency does not exist, when the same long continued efforts have not been used, and when even those who justify the *principle* of nullification, are compelled to condemn its every day and unnecessary use?"

GEORGIA AND THE CHEROKEES.

From the U. S. Telegraph.

The National Gazette contains a communication on this subject, in which it is attempted to be shown that the bloody bill cannot be made applicable to the Cherokee case. For some reason or other, we cannot conceive what, the Gazette countenances the same idea. We do not wish to charge the Gazette with an attempt at deception; but does not the Gazette know, what is well known here and elsewhere, that the sections referred to were introduced, we might almost say, expressly for the purpose of being applied to the Georgia case. It was soon known that it was intended for them to be so applied; and whatever doubts might have been entertained upon the subject, were soon removed by the Indian delegation. They indirectly refused to sell, although the government made them an offer of two millions and a half, and would have gone to three millions. We are not sure but that three millions were offered. Has the Gazette never heard that it was with difficulty the president could be got to sign the bill? The truth is, the administration was outwitted. They discovered it, but not until it was too late. The president gave himself up, bound hand and foot, to his new friends, and they had not the least compassion for him.

But what will Georgia do when the mandate of the supreme court comes? Will she acknowledge her sins, repent and obey? Will she look to the white house for countenance and forbearance? In vain! the proclamation stares her in the face. Will she look to her union and proclamation men—her advocates of the bloody bill, her Forsyths and her Waynes? It will be needless. They have sold her to the Philistines, and shortly hope to receive the price of their treachery. Will she look to the union men of the adjoining states? Alas! their cry is submit! submit! the law of congress must be executed!

From the Georgia Recorder.

In conversation with one of our representatives, since his return from Washington, we learned that previous to the passage of the enforcing bill, the Cherokee delegation, then at the seat of government, for the purpose of treating for their lands, showed every disposition to make a treaty; so much so, indeed, that the secretary of war considered that the basis of the treaty had been settled to the satisfaction of the chief, and that it required but the formalities of the business to complete it. When lo, and behold, so soon as the law for forcing the states was passed, the secretary, to his astonishment, was first informed of their change of opinion, by the reception of a note from the chiefs, very politely inquiring at what time it would be convenient for them to take *leave of their great father, the president*, as they only waited that ceremony to return to Cherokee.

GOVERNMENT DEPOSITES.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SATURDAY MARCH 2.

The following resolution reported yesterday by the committee of ways and means coming up for consideration:

"*Resolved*, that the government deposites may, in the opinion of the house, be safely continued in the bank of the United States."

Mr. Polk said he hoped that gentlemen who believed the time of the house at this period of the session, to be necessarily valuable, would not press the consideration of this resolution upon the house at this juncture. During the small remainder of the session, there were several measures of the highest public importance, which remained to be acted on. For one, he was extremely anxious that the session should close by 12 o'clock to-night, in order that a sitting upon the Sabbath might be avoided. He would not proceed in expressing his views until he should understand from gentlemen whether they intended to press the house to a vote on this resolution. [A remark was made by Mr. *Ingersoll*, which was not heard distinctly by the reporter.] Mr. P. proceeded. As it had been indicated that the gentlemen intended to take a vote upon the resolution, he would ask whether it was possible for the members of the house to express their opinions on this subject with an adequate knowledge of the facts? The committee of ways and means had spent nearly the whole session in the examination of one or two points connected with this subject. The range of investigation had been of necessity much less extensive than the deep importance of the subject required—but before any opinion could be properly expressed, it was important that the facts developed by the committee should be understood. There had been no opportunity for this—and there was no necessity for the expression of a premature opinion unless it was considered essential to whitewash the bank. If the friends of the bank deemed it indispensably necessary in order to sustain the bank to call for an expression of opinion, where the house had enjoyed no opportunity of examining the testimony and proof upon which alone a correct opinion could be formed, he should be compelled briefly to present one or two facts to the house. It had been one of the objects of the committee of ways and means to ascertain the circumstances relative to the postponement of the redemption of the 3 per cent. stock by the bank. With the mass of other important duties devolving upon the committee, as full an investigation of the conditions of the bank as was desirable, could not be expected.—The committee, therefore, had been obliged to limit their inquiries to this subject of the 3 per cents—the other subjects of investigation were only incidental. Upon this main subject of inquiry the whole committee, majority as well as minority, were of opinion that the bank had exceeded its legitimate authority, and had taken measures which were in direct violation of its charter. He would read a single sentence from the report of the majority which conclusively established this position. In the transactions upon this subject the majority of the committee expressly say, in their report; that "the bank exceeded its legitimate authority, and that this proceeding had no sufficient warrant in the correspondence of the secretary of the treasury." Could language be more explicit? It was then the unanimous opinion of the committee, upon this main topic of inquiry, that the bank had exceeded its legitimate authority, and that its proceedings, relative to the 3 per cents. had no sufficient warrant in the correspondence of the secretary of the treasury. The bank of the United States, it must be remembered, had been made the place of deposite for the public revenues, for the purpose of meeting the expenditures of the government. With the public money in its vaults, it was bound to pay the demands of the government. Among these demands upon the public money in the bank, was that portion of the public debt, of which the redemption had been ordered. Had the bank manifested a willingness to pay out the public money in its possession for this object? On examination of the evidence, it would be found, that as early as March, 1832, the president of the bank, without the knowledge of the government directors, had instituted a correspondence with certain holders of the public debt, for the purpose of procuring a postponement of its redemption. There was at that time no cholera which could be charged with giving occasion to the correspondence. When public notice had been given by the secretary of the treasury, of the redemption of the debt, the president of the bank immediately came to Washington, and requested that the redemption might be postponed. And what was the reason then assigned by the president of the bank, for this postponement? Why, that the measure would enable the bank to afford the merchants great facilities for the transaction of their business under an extraordinary pressure upon the money market. What was the evidence upon this point? The proof distinctly shewed that there was no extraordinary pressure. The monthly statements of the bank established that there was in fact a very considerable curtailment of the facilities given to the merchants in the commercial cities.

Mr. *Wickliffe* rose to a question of order. The subject under consideration was a resolution declaring that the bank was a safe place of deposite for the public revenue. He submitted whether it was in order to discuss upon this resolution the redemption of the 3 per cent. stock.

The *chair* (temporarily occupied in the absence of the speaker by Mr. *Taylor*) decided that the remarks of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. *Polk*] were in order.

Mr. *Polk* proceeded. The gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. *Wickliffe*] appeared to be very sensitive upon this subject. It was not long since that gentleman in a toast given at the Jefferson dinner expressed the most decided hostility to the bank.—He would leave to that gentleman to explain the reasons which had produced the sudden change of his opinions, and from a violent opponent had converted him into a most zealous advocate of the bank. What was the object of explaining this matter of the 3 per cent. stock? Not to waste the time of the house which was now so precious, but to shew that the management of the bank relative to the 3 per cents. distinctly proved that the bank was not able to pay the public money deposited in its vaults for the redemption of the public debt without obtaining a loan from abroad. The minority of the committee of ways and means had not disputed the ability of the bank to discharge its debts in its own convenient time—but had the bank promptly paid the public money deposited in its vaults when called for? As early at October, 1831, the bank had anticipated that during the course of 1832 it would not be allowed the undisturbed and permanent use of the public deposites. In the circular orders to the several branches which were then issued the necessity was stated for collecting the means for refunding those deposites from the loans which were then outstanding. Efforts were made by the branches of the west to make collections for that object; but those efforts entirely failed. The debts due upon loans made by the western branches had not been curtailed. It was found impossible to curtail them. As the list of discounts had gone down, the list of domestic bills of exchange had gone up. The application before alluded to was made in March to Mr. Ludlow, of New York, who represented about 1,700,000 of the public debt to postpone its redemption. This expedient also failed. Then the president of the bank came to Washington for the purpose of procuring the postponement of the period of redemption upon the ground that an extraordinary pressure existed, and the public interest would be promoted by enabling the bank to use the public money in affording facilities to the merchants of the commercial cities. And what next? In July, the president of the bank and the exchange committee, without the knowledge of the head of the treasury, or of the board of directors of the bank, instituted a secret mission to England, for the purpose of negotiating in effect a loan of five millions of dollars, for which the bank was to pay interest. The propriety

Digitized by Google

or object of this mission was not laid before the board of directors, and no clue was afforded to the government. Mr. Cadwallader went to England upon this secret mission. On the first of October the bank was advised of the arrangement made by Cadwallader, by which it was agreed in behalf of the bank, to purchase a part of the debt of the foreign holders, and to defer the redemption of a part. Now, it was well known to every one who had taken the trouble to read the charter of the bank, that it was expressly prohibited from purchasing public stock. On the 15th of October it was discovered that Cadwallader had exceeded his instructions. This discovery by the bank took place immediately after the circular letter of Baring, Brothers, & Co. of London, announcing the arrangement, had been published in one of the New York papers. This circular gave the first information to the government, or to any one in this country, as far as he was advised, excepting the exchange committee of the bank, of the object of Cadwallader's mission. In the limited time which could now be spared for this discussion, it was impossible to go through the particulars of this scheme. It would be seen on examination of the transaction, that the bank had directly interfered with the redemption of the public debt, for the obvious reason that it was unable to refund the public deposites. The cholera was not the ground of the correspondence with Ludlow. It was not the cholera which brought the president of the bank to Washington, to request the postponement of the redemption of the debt; nor was it the cholera which led to the resolution of the exchange committee of the bank to send Cadwallader to England. The true disorder was, the impossibility in which the bank found itself to concentrate its funds and diminish its loans. It had been stated in the report of the majority of the committee, that the certificates of the greatest portion of the 3 per cents. had been surrendered. It had been said that there was now less than a million of this debt outstanding. In point of fact, it would seem from the correspondence, that between one and two millions of the debts of which the certificates had been surrendered, had been paid by the bank becoming debtor to the foreign holder instead of the government. The directors appear to suppose this has not been the case, but the correspondence shows that the certificates have been sent home under this arrangement. After this brief explanation of the conduct of the bank in relation to the public deposites, he would ask, whether it was necessary to sustain the credit of the bank by adopting this resolution? Is it supposed because a majority of the house were friendly to the institution, that it is necessary for them to declare the opinion expressed in this resolution on faith—and faith alone? He had no desire that the resolution should be negatived. If he was compelled to vote on the resolution, he should vote against it—but he was willing that congress should defer the expression of its opinion until the facts upon which it must be founded are understood. This opinion could make no difference as to the duty of the government. Whenever the secretary of the treasury shall deem the public deposites unsafe in the bank, it is made his duty to withdraw them, and to lay his reasons before congress. The previous opinion of the house—especially an opinion expressed without means of examination, neither takes from nor adds to the responsibility of the secretary of the treasury. Pressed as the committee of ways and means have been with their various duties, they had, at a late period, called for the correspondence of the bank in September, October, and November, in order to ascertain, as far as might be practicable, by that means, the condition of the debts due to the bank in the west. What had been seen in this correspondence? That such had been the condition of one of the western branches, great alarm had been felt as to its power of going on, and prompt assistance had been necessary to prevent its stopping payment.

Mr. *Wickliffe* inquired what branch the gentleman referred to?

Mr. *Polk*. That at Lexington, Kentucky.

Mr. *Wickliffe* said, any difficulties in which that branch had been involved, had arisen from its accommodations to Jackson politicians.

Mr. *Polk*. Jackson politicians! The member from Kentucky can best answer to his constituents what sort of Jackson politicians have been accommodated by the bank. Much had been said in certain quarters of the persecution of the bank, and of the malice of the administration towards that institution. The whole crime of the administration is the demanding the public money from the bank for the purpose of paying the public debt. As to the condition of the western debt, about which so much had been said, and which was represented to have been so much reduced, it will be found that the principal reduction consists in what Mr. Cheves called race horse bills. The old debt is paid by drawing a new bill, payable in a different place. When that bill becomes due it is paid by another of a similar character. Unless these successive discharges and creations of debt diminish its aggregate amount, it will be found that very little, if any curtailment has taken place.

The hour allotted to morning business having expired,

Mr. *I. Bates* moved the orders of the day.

Mr. *Ingersoll* expressed a hope that the debate would be permitted to proceed.

Mr. *Bates*, then withdrew the motion.

Mr. *Polk* resumed. It was no fault of his that the report of the committee had come in at so late a period. He felt it to be his duty to offer a very brief exposition of the reasons why he did not regard it as proper for the house to express its opinion upon this subject without any opportunity for examination. The facts collected by the committee would go forth, and every man could then form his opinion. He would move to amend the resolution by striking out the whole after the word "resolved," and inserting "that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the subject." He would not pursue the discussion while so many important subjects pressed upon the house on the last day of the session. Whatever might appear to be the condition of the bank at a superficial glance, a careful scrutiny of its measures and its affairs would satisfy any impartial mind that its condition was not that which had been represented by its zealous friends. Without dwelling upon the particulars, he would sum up his objections to the resolution in its present form by stating that the bank had unwarrantably interfered with the arrangements of the government in reference to a great national object. In this, both the majority and minority of the committee had agreed. The secret of this interference would never have been disclosed but from the accidental publication of the circular of the Barings addressed to the European holders of the 3 per cents. The correspondence which had now for the first time been drawn from the bank was most material and important in the decision of the question, and was until this time entirely unknown either to the treasury department or to the house. He could have hoped that the friends of the bank would not have pressed the resolution. Had it been properly in order, he would have adverted to the manner in which the bill relative to the sale of the bank stock had been treated—and all reply to the arguments of those who opposed it prevented by the previous question. He enjoyed the satisfaction of having endeavored to discharge his duty to the country in relation to this subject. Should he live, he trusted to be able to contribute something further towards the developement of the transaction of this institution. From what had already been disclosed, it appeared that the most important business of the bank is exclusively transacted by the committee of exchange appointed by the president of the bank, and under his immediate direction. That this committee makes no report of its proceedings to the board of directors, and that none of the directors appointed in behalf of the United States are members of this committee. It appeared to him to be the most consummate folly to go through the ceremony of appointing directors for the purpose of protecting the public interest—while these directors are excluded from all knowledge and participation of the more important transactions of the bank. He would appeal to the house whether we ought to be satisfied with the management of an institution so deeply connected for good or evil with the great interests of the country in which those appointed to guard the public interest are totally deprived of all means of knowledge of its leading measures.

Messrs. *McDuffie* and *Ingersoll* rose simultaneously. The former gentleman was named by the chair. Mr. McD. then remarked that he would give way to the member of the committee of ways and means.

Mr. *Ingersoll*, of Connecticut, said, the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. *Polk*), who had just addressed the house, could not regret more than he did, the late period at which this question is presented. But who were chargeable with the delay? Not, certainly, the bank, nor any of its friends. No sooner was this subject referred, and the news of it had reached Philadelphia, than Mr. Biddle addressed a letter to the chairman of the committee of ways and means, respectfully offering every facility to the proposed investigation, and inviting the utmost latitude of search. There had been also constant and untiring efforts made to bring the report forward earlier in the session, that it might receive the action of the house before the adjournment. The friends of the bank, he repeated, were the last who should be held responsible for the tardy movements now complained of.

Mr. *Polk* here rose and said, that he had asked but for the postponement of a single day, to enable him to complete the minority report. That was refused, but the chairman having accidently left the majority report at his lodgings, the delay he had requested was obtained.

Mr. *Ingersoll* resumed. It was not that to which he alluded. An effort had been made a week ago to have the report made—the examination of witnesses was then closed, and our labors were about to be submitted to the house, as he supposed, when, to his surprise, the gentleman from Tennessee asked for delay, to send to Philadelphia for further correspondence, which would necessarily require some time to have copied, and but for this, we should have had the subject before us several days since, with ample opportunity for the fullest examination, and the freest debate. Then, as to the witness summoned, they were nearly all brought before the committee on the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee. He took his own course—every body was examined whom he saw fit to send for, as was certainly right and proper. He, (Mr. I.) did not complain of this, but surely we ought not now to be responsible for this course, since, in consequence of it, the report has been kept back to the heel of the session.

Mr. *Polk* said he had called for the examination of no one, excepting the directors appointed by the government, and gen. Cadwallader.

Mr. *Ingersoll:* Gentlemen had summoned whom they pleased: he, (Mr. I.) had called not a single witness. He was willing to trust the scrutiny to the hands of the opponents of the bank—let them probe it to suit themselves. All he asked was, when they were done, that they would permit the house to pass its opinion, and send the whole to the people for their ultimate decision. For himself, he must confess, he was sick of seeing

Digitized by Google

reports sent forth, unaccompanied by any opinion of either house of congress upon them. The people have been surfeited with such papers—we have had majority reports, and minority reports, and what an hon. member from S. Carolina, (*Mr. W. R. Davis*), he believed called unicorn reports, but they all brought us to no practical result, so long as they were not acted on by the house. They filled the flying folios of the newspapers of the day, or crammed the mails in the shape of public documents during the recess, without benefitting any class of our citizens much, except the legions of speculators, monied and political, who sometimes turn them to a profitable account. It was time that these matters were treated in a different way—that the representatives of the people should now act. This resolution, he rejoiced to see, had something tangible in it: it invites us to speak out, and to say, under the solemnity of our oaths, whether the government deposites ought to be continued where they now are, and have been in safety for the last seventeen years—or whether they shall be carried into the market, to be bid for by the local institutions. Will gentlemen now turn from this inquiry the moment we have reached it, and tell us that it does not belong to us—that it ought not to be settled before we separate? Have we then been employed all winter, in our committee room, to no purpose? Or, have we been working, day and night, merely to raise a smoke for political effect, at the end of the session, under which a new set of majority and minority reports are to be launched upon the public—still leaving the opinion of the house on these grave matters unrevealed? Has not congress been directly called upon, and from high authority, too, to express an opinion? Did not the secretary of the treasury, in his annual financial report, invite it; and was not the subject brought to our view in the executive message, at the opening of the session? We have not sought for this inquiry, but we cannot shun it, with credit to ourselves, since it has been put to us.

What, then, is the condition of the bank of the United States, as a place of safe deposite, compared with the other banking institutions of the country? From the evidence now spread before the house, he would assert with confidence, that it was decidedly more sound than the state banks, to which the funds must go, if taken from their present place of deposite. Nay, from an exhibit lately made of the affairs of the bank of England, it will be seen that the United States bank, in proportion to its capital, is the strongest of the two, applying the same tests to the comparative statements of each. Let us see how these different institutions appear by each other's side. The bank of the United States has now about nine millions of specie, to a circulation of about seventeen millions and a half. All the local banks in the union, combined, have but between ten and eleven millions of specie to a circulation of about sixty-eight millions. The bank of England, by its latest returns, had, speaking in dollars, about twenty-six millions of specie to a circulation of about ninety millions. And yet, with facts like these staring us in the face, it is gravely suggested that the deposites would be in less danger of being squandered if removed to the local banks, with their circulation six times beyond the specie in their vaults: aye, sir, to local banks, which left you saddled with a certain "unavailable fund" of nearly a million and a half, when you used them as places of deposite on a former occasion. The banks of the state of New York would probably come in for a larger share of the government deposites than those of any other states, for there the greatest portion of the revenue is collected; and let us see how they stand. It appears by an official statement, recently published by sworn commissioners, that they have but about $1,700,000 in specie, to a circulation of about twelve millions: and it will further appear by the evidence reported, that at the time when those banks had but this inconsiderable amount of specie on hand, they were indebted to the United States bank, more than two millions of dollars, which might have been called for at any day, thus draining them of every specie dollar.

Will any man, can any man, with these statements before him, say that the safety of the public funds requires their removal to the local banks? It was in vain to blink this question by going into the extraneous matter of the three per cent. arrangement, which had been now nearly brought to a close. The secretary has put the question to us in regard to the safety of the bank as a place of deposite for the public money, and we are bound at all events to respond to that. But if gentlemen are determined to rake up the three per cent. affair, he was willing to meet them there also; for he believed that transaction, from beginning to end, to have been fair, prudent and honorable, and intended much more to aid the mercantile community, especially those indebted to the government on custom house bonds, than for any particular accommodation to the bank itself, except so far as it might be benefitted by shielding its customers and the local banks too from an unusual and unnecessary pressure. Much stress has been placed on the mission of general Cadwallader to Europe. It had been called a secret mission, unauthorised by the board of directors, and particularly without the knowledge or authority of the government directors. Now, sir, it is an undeniable fact, that early in the spring of 1832, in the month of March, at a regular meeting of the board, at which two of the government directors, residing in Philadelphia, were present, (the third being accidentally in the country), the president submitted his views in relation to paying off the three per cents. in the course of the year, more than one half of which he stated belonged to foreigners, the withdrawal of whose funds might possibly expose the community to great inconvenience, unless some measure should be taken for deferring a part of the payments; after which it was, by the board

"*Resolved*, That the subjects of the communication just made by the president, be referred to the committee on exchange, with authority to make, on behalf of the bank, whatever arrangements with the holders of the three per cent. stock of the U. States may, in their opinion, best promote the convenience of the public and the interests of the institution."

This resolution is recorded in the books of the bank, it was passed in the presence of two of the government directors, and at the next meeting of the board, was read over in their presence, and in the presence of the third government director who had then returned to the city. There was no secresy in all this. The record had been always open, as the books of the bank always were, to the inspection of every director, and every government spy who might have a right to examine them. One of the directors on the part of the government belonged to the very exchange committee to whom the subject had been referred. He alluded to Nicholas Biddle, who had for several years, and under different administrations till January last, been appointed a director by the government. And although since this controversy has arisen in regard to renewing the charter, Mr. Biddle had been cast off by the administration, yet he was an honorable and an honest man, and no one on this floor would say to the contrary. This committee, thus organized, and thus fully empowered as has been shown, by the board, to make all the arrangements which they might see fit in regard to the payment of the three per cents. sent general Cadwallader to England, as he had been entrusted with a similar mission under the presidency of Mr. Cheves, and through his agency a portion of the European holders of the three per cents. have agreed to give up their certificates to the government, thus clearing the United States from any further liability, and taking the house of Baring & Co. of London, in whose hands the bank has ample funds, as security for their money, which they will receive with interest in October, 1833. By this arrangement the business men of our country, who are debtors to the bank, have not been disturbed in their usual accommodations, though their discounts must have been materially curtailed, and the local banks pressed in their turn too for balances, had these foreigners all been paid at the counter of the bank, on this side of the Atlantic—and the result to the government, (the certificates being surrendered), is the same as if the specie had been shipped abroad in exchange for the stock certificates. So high is the credit of this institution in Europe, as appears by the correspondence which had not been received at the time the directors appeared before the committee, and therefore is not in the evidence reported, that some of the foreign holders have refused to take the money, and insisted on the bank's keeping it at an interest of only three per cent. till next October, under a previous offer. They have, however, while doing this, surrendered their certificates so as to exonerate the treasury from any liability to them. The bank had the funds in Europe in the hands of its agents, to pay them off, and through its agent made a tender of the money, which the holders declined taking. Let it be remembered too, that when general Cadwallader embarked, it was wholly uncertain whether the condition of the treasury would enable the secretary to pay off the debt advertised to be paid, without obtaining money for this favorite purpose of the secretary, from this same much abused bank. Mr. I. said he wished the house to mark, and the country to know, that on the 19th of last July, the secretary addressed a letter to the president of the bank, stating that if the funds of the United States should happen to be inadequate to the redemption of the three per cents. he must rely on the bank for the necessary facilities. Here is the letter of Mr. McLane; that there shall be no mistake about it, you shall have its very language. It is dated, treasury department, 19th July, 1832, and reads thus:

"Sir, it was not until to-day that I have been able to ascertain the amount of the appropriations made at the last session of congress, and therefore I have not been able to decide before now upon the amount of the three per cents. to be redeemed on the first of October. I find, as was supposed when you were here, that we shall be able to pay off about two-thirds at that time. A notice will accordingly be given in to-morrow's paper, for the payment of that amount on the first of October, and the remaining one third on the first of January. *This has been done with the understanding had between us, that if it should happen that the public monies are insufficient to complete those payments, the bank will delay the presentation of any certificates of which it may have the control until the funds are sufficient to meet them, the interest to be paid by the United States during the interval.*"

Yes, sir, the treasury department was arranging with the banks if the state of the public funds should require it, to hold back the stock certificates, which the secretary had invited in by an official advertisement, and which he was bound to pay when presented. All this was very right in the high officer at the head of the treasury; but it is a mighty offence when the bank, through its agent, proposes an arrangement, not more exceptionable certainly, with the original holders of the certificates in Europe. We can make a flourish about paying off the national debt, while the secretary of the treasury has at the same time a private understanding with the bank, to "delay the presentation" of the stock certificates which it may happen to hold, even if "interest is to be paid by the United States during the interval;" but if the bank proposes to allow interest to the European stockholders, though their certificates should not be delayed, but surrendered up—that is a very different affair; it so shocks the sen-

Digitized by Google

sibility of the secretary, notwithstanding he penned the letter of 19th July, that he sends the matter to us, as a grave subject for inquiry, and hints a doubt as to the safety of his deposites. Now, sir, the bank had precisely the same right to come to the arrangement with the European stockholders, even if it had been agreed with them to "delay the presentation" of their certificates, as Mr. Secretary McLane had to come to an understanding with the bank "to delay the presentation" of any certificates within its control, on being paid the interest. The secretary is not the United States, nor the government—he is but a high and honorable public servant, and the bank is a humble one. When, therefore, gentlemen ask what authority the bank had to do what it has done, let them first tell us where and how does the accuser of the bank, the secretary of the treasury, obtain the power to do what he has done. It is true he did not have to resort to the bank, as things turned out, for funds to enable him to meet his payments; nor did it become necessary for the bank to "delay the presentation" of the certificates; but that does not vary the right of either to enter into their respective arrangements. If the secretary's letter of 19th July, recognizing the understanding to "delay the presentation" of the certificates when the funds might fall short, has worked no harm, neither has the arrangement of the bank agent worked any harm in regard to the three per cents.—for more of those certificates have been actually paid off and surrendered to the treasury, than would have been, had no movement been made about them. It may be a little curious to know how the secretary had met these payments without resorting to the bank for aid. Mr. I. said he had looked into this matter, and believed the business had been done in this way. The secretary had taken monies that had been appropriated by congress to other objects, the unsatisfied appropriations, so called, and applied them to the payment of the public debt. The annual report on the finances had informed us that there were due from the treasury about five and a half millions of dollars for unsatisfied appropriations: nearly the whole of this amount had been taken by the secretary, and applied towards the extinguishment of the funded debt. Besides this, congress at the last session granted pensions to the gallant remnant of our revolutionary worthies who had not received the benefit of former laws—thus providing for a debt which, above all others, should have been promptly discharged, inasmuch as it had been already long delayed. There would be due to these men, according to the estimate of the secretary of war, sent to us early in the session, about four millions of dollars, including the arrearages. This was over and above the five and a half millions of unsatisfied appropriations before referred to. There has not been force enough in the pension office to pass upon these claims as promptly as it was supposed they would have been, and as he (Mr. I.) thought they ought to have been; and consequently but a moderate amount had been disbursed on their account prior to the first of January. What was not paid to these venerable men, but would have been, had there been force enough in the offices to examine and decide upon their claims, had been also turned over to swell the payments of the funded debt. He did not say there had been fault in this, but there was hardly a member of congress who has not his drawer at this moment filled with letters from these men, many of them decrepid, and bowed down by the frosts of eighty winters, complaining that they have not yet been able to receive what congress granted to them eight months ago, and beseeching their representatives to aid them in procuring the little pittance to comfort them in this inclement season. Many of them have stood at the pension office, "like shivering beggars at a bolted door," while we, in this gorgeous hall, are boasting of having paid off the debts of the revolution. If these claims had been paid within six months from the time congress had authorised them to be paid, it was evident that the secretary of the treasury could not have accomplished his payments of the public debt, even taking to his aid the five and a half millions of other unsatisfied appropriations, unless he had resorted to a temporary loan, or had relied on the bank to "delay the presentation" of the certificates, allowing interest for the accommodation. Mr. I. said he should not undertake to decide how far it was proper in a secretary of the treasury to take money which has been once appropriated, before the appropriation is satisfied, and apply it to a different object, even though that object be the payment of the public debt. It is a power which congress does not ordinarily exercise: we do not grant compensation for a horse lost in an Indian fight on the frontiers, without expressly providing that it is to be paid "out of any money in the treasury *not otherwise appropriated*." And can the head of a department do what congress cannot, or does not?

Mr. *Polk* wished to understand, whether the gentleman from Connecticut contended that the commissioners of the sinking fund, had no authority to order the redemption of more than ten millions of the public debt in one year. He had understood they were expressly authorised to go to any extent beyond that sum that the condition of the treasury could authorise.

Mr. *Ingersoll*—The standing appropriation to the sinking fund is ten millions annually, perhaps this should be satisfied in preference to other appropriations, but during the last year, about seventeen millions have been applied—and this excess over the ten millions cannot be applied by the commissioners, unless there is a surplus to that extent in the treasury. But, does the gentleman from Tennessee, call money already appropriated to one object, and for which the treasury is liable—a surplus? Is money due to revolutionary pensioners, a surplus, which may be taken to sink the funded debt? It was not so understood by that distinguished statesman so often alluded to, and never mentioned but with the most profound respect, the lamented Lowndes, who had for several years stood at the head of the committee of ways and means. He was for always retaining in hand at least two millions of dollars, not in the ragged trash of broken banks, but of sound money, over and above the sums appropriated for the service of the year. The policy of his masterly mind is delineated in an act which he penned and carried through congress in 1817, for the redemption of the public debt, an act which ought to stand as one of the most enduring monuments of his fame. You will see by it, what he meant by a surplus. The third section provides, "That in addition to the sum of ten millions of dollars, hereinbefore annually appropriated to the sinking fund, there shall be appropriated for the year 1817, the further sum of nine millions of dollars, to be paid out of any monies not otherwise appropriated, at such time within the year, as the secretary of the treasury shall deem most conducive to the public interest, to be applied by the commissioners of the sinking fund, to the purchase or redemption of the public debt." The surplus here transferred to the sinking fund for that year, is expressly limited to "*money not otherwise appropriated*."

The 4th section of the same act directs "That, after the year 1817, whenever there shall be at any time after the adjournment of congress in any year, a surplus of money in the treasury, above the sums appropriated for the service of such year, the payment of which to the commissioners of the sinking fund will yet leave in the treasury at the end of the year a balance equal to two millions of dollars, then such surplus shall be, and the same is hereby appropriated to the sinking fund, to be paid at such time as the situation of the treasury will best permit, and shall be applied by the commissioners thereof to the purchase or redemption of the public debt."

It is true that this 4th section of Mr. Lowndes' act, reserving two millions in the treasury beyond the appropriations for the service of the year, has been since, very unwisely, as he, (Mr. I.) believed, repealed by a law which originated in the senate in 1830. That law, the act of 1830, authorises the secretary, whenever the treasury shows a surplus of funds, "to cause such surplus to be placed at the disposal of the commissioners of the sinking fund, and the same shall be applied by them to the reimbursement or purchase of the principal of the public debt at such times as the state of the treasury will best admit."

You can, therefore, under this act, take the two millions which Mr. Lowndes' prudence would have reserved, if the secretary so wills it; but still you can take nothing that is not "surplus;" and what is meant by surplus has been already shown by the act of 1817 to be money in the treasury above the sums appropriated.

Mr. *Polk* wished to know whether there was not on the 1st of October three millions in the treasury, and on the 1st of January 700,000 dollars over and above all claims of every description upon the treasury, and unavailable funds.

Mr. *Ingersoll*—No—not of legitimate funds belonging to the United States. On the 1st of January the treasury was scraped to the bottom. There was on hand about 700,000 dollars of monies received from the Danish government for spoliations on our commerce, which belonged to American merchants, for whom it had been recovered: and within a few days afterwards, the greater part of that, as he had been informed, had been expended, leaving only a little over one hundred thousand dollars beyond the amount of warrants issued; and the whole of that would have vanished long before, if the pensioners of the revolution had been generally attended to, and their claims allowed, to say nothing of the five and a half millions of unsatisfied appropriations outstanding against the treasury at the close of the last year.

Mr. *Boon* now moved the orders of the day, which the house refused.

Mr. *Ingersoll* then said, after the great indulgence he had received, he felt that he could not better repay the kindness of the house just manifested by its vote, than by declining to take up more of its valuable time on this the last day of the session, though there were other topics on which, under other circumstances, he would be desirous of being heard. He preferred the house should act, rather than listen to him: he would therefore, before he sat down, move for the previous question, on the resolution, and as we have had a speech from each side, he hoped the motion would be sustained by common consent, that we may decide this question at once, and pass on the other business which must be attended to before the session closes. He accordingly moved the previous question, but withdrew his motion for the present, at the request of

Mr. *McDuffie*, who said he was aware that this was not the proper period to go into a discussion of this subject, and had it so pleased the honorable gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. *Polk*) he should have been content that the house should have given a silent vote on the resolution presented to it. He differed from that honorable gentleman as to the propriety of adopting it. He believed that it was not only right, but that, under the circumstances of the case, it was the solemn duty of the house to express their opinion as to the proposition contained in the resolution. What! were they to be told that the disposition of the public revenue of the country was a question for a secretary of the treasury? That officer, had, indeed, a limited discretion, enabling him to take the public deposites out of any bank during the recess of congress, his act being subject to the judgment of the congress at its following session. It was congress, and not

Digitized by Google

the secretary, that was to be the judge where the funds of the nation should be placed.

Who had brought this question before congress? Was it the bank? No. it was the president of the United States—it was the secretary of the treasury: and they had presented the subject in a form which made it the solemn duty of the house to pronounce its opinion on the grave and weighty matter submitted to it. But the gentleman from Tennessee had asked the house very gravely, whether they were prepared to pronounce judgment *against* the administration, and against all who voted with him on this subject? Ah! Was the administration then on its trial before that house and the country? so that if the house should declare that the national bank is a safe place of deposite for the funds of the government, it was to be viewed as a condemnation of the president and his secretary? Mr. McD. knew of no principle on which such a conclusion rested than this, that the greater the truth the greater the libel. When the house declared that the bank was a safe place of deposite for those funds, it spoke the truth. None dare to say that it was not the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. And had congress come to that pass, that they dare not tell the truth to the American people because the president and his secretary had expressed a different opinion, and that without the shadow of foundation? Mr. McD. had been utterly astonished that any department of this government should have expressed so extraordinary an opinion as that the national deposites were not safe in the bank of the United States. He solemnly declared that through every period of the investigation which had taken place he had but one opinion, which was, that in the whole civilized world there did not exist a bank more perfectly competent to meet all its engagements, and which better fulfilled all the ends for which it had been created. He would go further, and declare it his opinion that there was no such bank in the world, and no such currency in existence any where. No government had received such facilities from any bank whatever as the American government had constantly received, and was still receiving from the bank of the U. States. While the bank had funds in its possession to pay all its debts, meet its whole circulation, and all its other engagements of every kind, and had moreover 42 millions of dollars for its stockholders that government should tell the people that their deposites were not safe there—and that congress must not have the firmness and justice to declare to the contrary? It was most extraordinary! Were they to make every question a party question? Must every man be exactly in the vein of the president and his secretary? Was the house to be held as making an attack upon the president because it told the truth? a truth which the gentleman from Tennessee would not himself deny? Did the gentleman himself believe, on his conscience, that the government deposites were not safe in the bank? He did not. There was not a man in the United States capable of comprehending the subject, who could hold, or would avow such an opinion.

Mr. McD. said he would tell the house, in a few words, the reason why he wished this resolution to pass. He presumed that the president of the United States had made this communication to congress with a view of getting the opinion of congress on the question submitted to them. The question was now presented to the house in the shape of a resolution, and he should regard its adoption as perfectly conclusive in a practical point of view. Any administration which, after the expression by congress of the opinion advanced in this resolution, should withdraw the national deposites from the bank would deserve, as it would assuredly receive, the execration of the country. Mr. McD. hoped that no gentleman's opinion as to the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the bank would prevent him from expressing his honest conviction as to the state of its affairs.

Mr. McD. would not speak what he thought about this proceeding. He would not say that it was persecution; but he would say that the opinion expressed by the president of the United States, and the secretary of the treasury, was, under all the circumstances, the most pernicious and the most unwarrantable ever put forth by public men. What, in fact, had saved the whole community from one universal wreck? Nothing but the fact that our commercial community possessed too much intelligence to believe what had been said about by the administration. In any other country such a declaration would have produced a panic which, however unfounded, must have brought the bank to ruin. Thanks be to God, and to our commercial community, the thing had been but a few days' wonder, and had passed away; and such a declaration, if put forth now from the same source, would have no more influence in the community than if it proceeded from the most insignificant individual in the country.

Mr. McD. said he was anxious till the period should arrive when the public deposites should no longer be subject to the control of the government. He was anxious to avoid this speculation of funds in market, and the local banks bidding for them. Then gentlemen would see a game worthy to be contemplated by a philosopher. A secretary of the treasury, with power to place the public funds wherever he pleased, could control the government and the people, principalities and powers—all, all would lie at his beck, they could not resist him. But God forbid that these funds should be put in market as a means for political gamblers to make their way to power.

If the deposites were to be taken out of the bank of the United States, where were they to go? He presumed it required no miraculous inspiration to foretell that they were to go into the banks of New York. And if they did, how would the transaction stand before the eyes of posterity? To take the government deposites out of a bank possessing *more than half* of its whole circulation in specie, and place them in banks whose specie capital did not amount to *one-seventh* of their circulation!

He never could give his assent to this, nor would he countenance any measure which might be seized upon as giving a pretext to do so. After a grave question had been made by the president as to the soundness of the bank, if congress should say nothing, that officer might conclude, as he had once done in reference to a certain Indian treaty which he had submitted for ratification. The senate not having acted upon it, he considered himself at liberty to carry it into execution. He might say, "I told congress that the United States bank was an unsafe place for the public money: they said nothing to the contrary: silence gives consent: and therefore transfer the deposites without further ceremony."

Mr. McD. observed that he wished to say a few words to which he was prompted by a sacred sense of duty: they had reference to the president of the bank, Mr. Nicholas Biddle. He knew that gentleman well; and he conscientiously believed that there did not live a more honest or a more honorable man on the face of the earth. No man in the United States possessed a more thorough knowledge of banking in all its operations. And never had an institution been managed with more perfect judgment or more consummate ability than this had been by him.

As to the issue made up between the secretary of the treasury and Mr. Biddle, Mr. McD. had nothing to do with it. But, on the mere question of finance he would say, that if the secretary had taken the advice of Mr. Biddle in reference to the French claims, he would have saved the treasury several thousands of dollars. The advice of the president of the bank had been asked by the secretary as to the best mode of drawing for the French indemnities. The advice had been promptly given, viz: that the secretary's wisest course would be to draw a bill at once, and the bank would purchase it: as, if he postponed it, the rate of exchange would probably be higher. The secretary had rejected the advice, and postponed drawing until the anticipated rise in exchange had taken place; and then had been much disappointed and displeased because he could not get the same terms from the bank as had been offered him before.

Mr. McD. said that he did not know for what purpose a discussion on the subject of the three per cents. had been brought forward. He would only say that the gentleman from Tennessee had seemed to dwell, with emphasis, upon an equivocal phrase in the report of the majority of the committee of ways and means, and had labored to shew that the committee had declared that the bank had "exceeded its powers." He would give to the house an explanation of the facts which had led to that expression. The agent of the bank had made a contract with the holders of government securities abroad which the bank had not authorised him to make. The directors had disavowed the contract. If a disavowal of a contract was to be construed into a transcending of the powers of the bank, the gentleman was welcome to make the most of it. The greater part of this stock, however, was now paid off—little more than a million remained. The gentleman had said that more than a million of dollars had been obtained on condition that the bank would become responsible instead of the government; and this the gentleman seemed to consider as a going in debt, on the part of the bank. But did not the gentleman know that the bank held, in the hands of the Barings, three millions to meet this? They had more money than was sufficient to pay it all, and all the three per cents. outstanding beside.

Mr. McD. concluded by asking what the house was prepared to do with the resolution which was before it? All it called upon the house to say was that the deposites were safe in the bank. If any man doubted this, let him say so.

The previous question was then called, and the resolution adopted by yeas and nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adams, C. Allan, H. Allen, Appleton, Arnold, Ashley, Babcock, Banks, N. Barber, J. S. Barbour, Barnwell, Barringer, Barstow, I. C. Bates, Briggs, Bucher, Burd, Burges, Cahoon, Choate, Claiborne, E. Cooke, B. Cooke, Cooper, Corwin, Coulter, Craig, Crane, Crawford, Creighton, Daniel, Davenport, J. Davis, Dearborn, Denny, Dickson, Drayton, Draper, Duncan, Ellsworth, G. Evans, J. Evans, E. Everett, H. Everett, Ford, Gilmore, Grennell, Griffin, H. Hall, Hawes, Heister, Hodges, Howard, Hughes, Huntington, Ihrie, Ingersoll, Jarvis, Jenifer, R. M. Johnson, Kendall, H. King, Letcher, Lewis, Marshall, Maxwell, R. McCoy, McDuffie, McIntire, McKay, McKennan, Mercer, Milligan, Muhlenburg, Nelson, Newnan, Newton, Patton, Pearce, Pendleton, Pitcher, Potts, Randolph, J. Reed, Rencher, Root, Russel Semmes, Sewall, W. B. Shepard, Smith, Stephens, Stewart, Storrs, Sutherland, Taylor, P. Thomas, Tompkins, Tracy, Verplanck, Vinton, Washington, Watmough, Wilkin, E. Whittlesey, Frederick Whittlesey, E. D. White, Wickliffe, Williams, Young—109.

NAYS—Messrs. Anderson, Angel, Archer, James Bates, Beardsley, Bergen, Bethune, John Blair, Bouck, John Brodhead, Carr, Clay, Clayton, Connor, Dayan, Fitzgerald, Gaither, Gordon, T. H. Hall, Harper, Hawkins, Hoffman, Holland, Horn, Hubbard, A. King, Lecompte, Lyon, Mann, Mardis, Mason, McCarty, Mitchell, Pierson, Polk, E. C. Reed, Soule, Speight, Standifer, Frs. Thomas, W. Thompson, Wardwell, Wayne, Weeks, C. P. White, Worthington—46.

So the resolution was agreed to.

Digitized by Google